

THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE LIBRARY



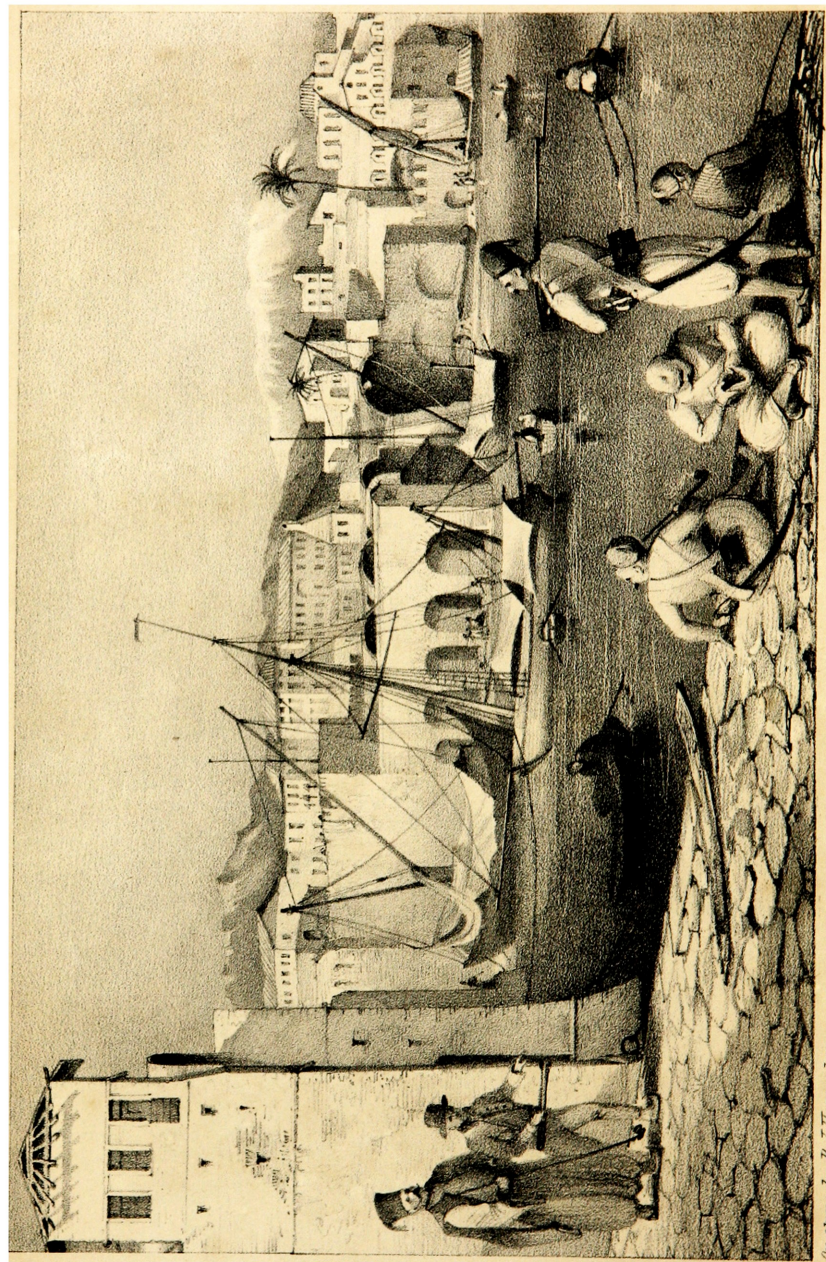
DT
53.
S42
v.2

The
George Washington University
Library



Special Collections
Division

**DOES NOT
CIRCULATE**



VIEW OF THE PORT OF CANDIA.

From the Mole of the Lazaretto — Guard of Egyptian Troops

Published by H. Colburn, 6³ Marlboro Street.

RAMBLES
IN
EGYPT AND CANDIA,
WITH DETAILS OF THE
MILITARY POWER
AND RESOURCES OF THOSE COUNTRIES,
AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE
GOVERNMENT, POLICY, AND COMMERCIAL
SYSTEM
OF
MOHAMMED ALI.

BY
Charles
C. ROCHFORD SCOTT,

CAPTAIN, H. P., ROYAL STAFF CORPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

1837.

LONDON :

F SHOBERT, JUN., LEICESTER STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Temple of Luxor—System of Plunder—Solitary Obelisk—Grand Avenue of Sphinxes—Temple of Karnac—Its vast extent—Ruined Propylæ—Lateral Temples—Cross to the Western side of the Nile—The Memnonium—Specimen of the Wonderful Capacity of the Hieroglyphical Language—Palace of Sesostri—Sculpture of the Egyptians—Remarks on Champollion's Hieroglyphical Discoveries—Dammy and Shammy—Temple of Dair—Tombs of the Kings—Belzoni's Tomb—Village of Gournou—Traffic in Mummies—Anecdote of a *post mortem* Ambitious English Traveller—Remains at Denderah—Dinner at Sheik Hassan's . Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Departure for Kosseir—Pace of the Dromedary—Wells at El Gaytah—Observations on the Desert—Pass of Issud—El Megrib—The Consular Agent at Kosseir—American Trickery—The Citadel—Hospitality of Said Mohammed—An Arab Dinner—New

Route—Mountain Pass—Wad-el-Ash —Hints to the Traveller— Nomadic Arab Tribes—Partridges and Grouse—Return to Khe- neh—Seizure of our Boatmen for the Nizam—Visit to Girgeh— Apprehension of the Delinquents—The Bastinado—Town of Akhmin—Minieh—Return to Cairo	35
--	----

CHAPTER III.

Departure for Suez—The Ras el Wadi, or Wadi Toumlet—Traces of the Canal of the Ptolemies—Salt Lake—Disagreeable Pickle —Wells of Adjeroud—Suez—Fortifications—Population, &c. —Canal connecting the Red Sea with the Nile—Market of Suez —Climate—Anchorage—Trade—Difficult Navigation of the Gulf of Suez—Steam communication with India—Difficulty of Main- taining it at all Seasons—Advantages of the Line by the Red Sea over that by the Euphrates—Proposed Line by Kosseir— Passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites—Failure of all At- tempts to disprove the Miracle—Land of Goshen—March of the Jews—Return to Cairo—Observations on the Line of the pro- jected Rail-road	67
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

Form of Government—Character of Mohammed Ali—Former State of the Country—Difficulties to Overcome in Effecting Improve- ments—Unwarrantable Abuse of Foreigners—Parallel of Mo- hammed Ali and Napoleon—System of Administration—Ameliora- tions Effected—Council of State—Faulty Position of the Viceroy of Egypt in his Intercourse with the Diplomatic Agents of the European Powers—Errors in his Foreign Policy—The Advantage of his Ceding Canada to Great Britain—Policy of England towards Mohammed Ali—Views of Russia—Necessity of Increasing the Power of Egypt to counteract them—Feebleness of Persia— Policy of Recognising the Independence of Egypt, and of Guar- anteeing the Succession of Ibrahim Pasha to the Throne	100
---	-----

CHAPTER V.

Character of Ibrahim Pasha—His Conduct in Syria—In the Morea —Popularity of Mohammed Ali — Grievances of his Subjects — Difficulties he has to contend against — Wasteful Expenditure of Money on the Wild Schemes of Foreign Adventurers — Project to throw a Dam across the Nile—Railroads—Concluding Remarks upon the system of Government 140

CHAPTER VI.

Revenues of Egypt—Taxes—Expenditure—Government Monopolies—Necessity of retaining many of them, in the present state of the Country—Agricultural System—Extent of Land susceptible of Cultivation—Productions of Egypt—State of her Commercial Relations with other Countries—Imports and Exports—Amount of Population — Different nations composing it — State of the Fellahs as compared with the Peasantry of other Countries—Paupers—Good effects resulting from the Establishment of Manufactories—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants—Education of the Lower Orders—Arts and Sciences—Music—Gradual Improvement in the Condition of the Inhabitants—Anecdote of the March of Mind, and of the drag upon it—Smoking 156

CHAPTER VII.

First Attempt of Mohammed Ali to Organize the Army of Egypt on the European Model — Revolt of the Troops—War with the Wahabees — Expedition to Senaar — Formation of the Nizam, and Dispersion of the Janizaries and Albanians— Renewal of Hostilities with the Wahabees—Excellent Conduct of the new Levies— War in the Morea — Uninterrupted Success of the Arab Army— Affair of Mylos — Siege of Missolonghi—War in Syria—Strength and Composition of the Present Egyptian Army— Pay — Rations — Conscription — Good Qualities of the Fellaah — Dress of the Troops — Remarks on the Efficiency of the Army, &c.—Suliman Pasha 195

CHAPTER VIII.

Public Schools—Encouragement given by Mohammed Ali to the Education of the Lower Orders—Artillery and Naval College at Tourah—Cavalry School at Ghizeh—Medical and Veterinary College at Abouzabel—Disadvantage under which it labours from the want of a common Language between the Professors and Students—Instance of a Dragoman's *free Translation*—Concluding Remarks on the College—Clot Bey 230

CHAPTER IX.

Voyage to Candia — A Health Establishment ill-adapted to the Establishment of Health — Fine View from the Lazaretto Mole—A Sicilian *Guardiano* — Description of the Island of Crete — Its Population — City of Candia — Mustapha Pasha — Difficulty in procuring Horses — Departure for Canea — Villages of Defnes, Evegenichi, and St. Tomas — View from the Summit of the Pass on the Eastern side of Mount Ida — Change in the appearance of the Country — Agius Decca — Ruins of Gortyna — Road to the Celebrated Cretan Labyrinth — Description of that “ Wonder of the World ” — Arrival at Apodoulo 248

CHAPTER X.

Journey Continued — Convent of Asomatos — Mountain Pass — Beautiful Scenery — Execrable Road — Villages of Keriana, Adil, and Maroulas — Arrival at Retimo — Description of that Town — Citadel — Population — Trade — Provincial Council — Departure for Canea — Dangerous Road — Armyro — Mineral Waters — Splendid Scenery — Neo Horio — The Capo's House — The Ridiculous and the Sublime — Day of Waterloo — Bay of Suda — Arrival at Canea — Description of the Town — Great Increase of its Population 281

CHAPTER XI.

Trade of Candia — Productions — Exports and Imports — Injurious Consequences of the total want of Inland Communication — Re-

venue—Taxes — Greek Church Establishment—Price of Labour and Provisions—Character of the Inhabitants—Wretched Condition of the Island—Summary Account of the State of Candia during the War in Greece—Effects of the Battle of Navarin—Candia given up to Mohammed Ali—Insurrectionary Movement—Desertion of Osman Pasha—Form of Government—The acquisition of the Island not beneficial to Egypt — Advantages its Possession holds out to Great Britain—Conclusion	313
---	-----

RAMBLES

IN

EGYPT AND CANDIA.

CHAPTER I.

Temple of Luxor—System of Plunder—Solitary Obelisk—Grand Avenue of Sphinxes—Temple of Karnac—Its vast extent—Ruined Propylæ—Lateral Temples—Cross to the Western side of the Nile—The Memnonium—Specimen of the Wonderful Capacity of the Hieroglyphical Language—Palace of Sesostris—Sculpture of the Egyptians—Remarks on Champollion's Hieroglyphical Discoveries—Dammy and Shammy—Temple of Dair—Tombs of the Kings—Belzoni's Tomb—Village of Gournou—Traffic in Mummies—Anecdote of a *post mortem* Ambitious English Traveller—Remains at Denderah—Dinner at Sheik Hassan's.

WITHOUT pretending to any such exquisitely fine antiquarian feeling as Count Forbin, who was driven from this very spot, if I recollect right, by seeing an English lady, with a bright silk spencer, clambering amongst

the ruins of the ancient Diospolis ; yet we were sufficiently alive to the “ *gout détestable* ” displayed in the white-washed villa of his countrymen, to be induced to change our previously-arranged plan for staying some days at Luxor. Ordering the Reis, therefore, to drop down the river with the cange to the landing-place abreast of Karnac, we proceeded to explore the splendid ruin before us.

The effect of the interior of the temple is as much spoilt by its containing an Arab village, as is the exterior, by the French “ *Rus in urbe.* ” The quantity of sand that has drifted in also tends greatly to rob it of its fair proportions.

The sculpture on the exterior walls appeared to me to be coarser, and of worse execution, than usual, although stated by Champollion to be extremely fine. The chariot of the hero of the sculptured tale looks as like a wheelbarrow, drawn by a Giraffe, as a car by a pair of horses.

Two splendid obelisks of red granite formerly stood in front of the principal entrance of this temple ; but one of them was carried

off, a few years since, to embellish the French capital.

It is difficult to understand the feeling that leads to such a system of plunder. The abstraction of this characteristic ornament is much felt here, where it was in keeping with the rest of the building—whereas it is divested of all interest amongst the gravel walks of (that constant arena of strife) the *Place de la Concorde*, where it has recently been erected.

No people have exclaimed so vehemently as the French at Lord Elgin's carrying off the *bassi relievi* on the freize of the Parthenon, where, had they been suffered to remain but a few years longer, they would have been completely destroyed, and yet the arrival of the indestructible Egyptian obelisk, at Paris, was hailed with as much classic enthusiasm, as if the great Ammon Rà himself had started into life, and come to the French capital to pre-[']side over "*La société pour la propagation des connoissances scientifiques.*"

It is to be hoped that the British Government will not be induced to follow so bad an

example, by removing the great obelisk yet standing at Karnac, which, report says, has been presented by Mohammed Ali to the English nation.

The grand entrance to the temple of Luxor faces the north, and is still adorned by the remaining granite obelisk and four colossal statues. From thence, the whole way to the southern propylon of the Temple of Karnac—a distance of about a mile and a half—an avenue of Sphinxes is supposed to have extended. It is even now visible for several hundred yards, on approaching the outer gateway of the latter temple; but the traveller, on his first visit to this magnificent pile, should enter it by the gateway in the western, or principal, propylon.

What a sight then bursts upon him! Whilst he stands in a splendid court—which itself equals in grandeur anything of the kind ever executed by the hand of man—his eye is directed by an avenue of enormous pillars that passes entirely through the centre of the building, to an endless perspective of gate-

ways, columns, and obelisks—an extent of one thousand six hundred feet !

The edifice now presented to his view not only surpasses in splendour and magnitude all the other temples of Egypt, but makes the works of the Greeks and Romans sink into insignificance, for the celebrated Temple of Minerva at Athens might stand within the Dromos, whilst the court, enclosing the sanctuary, could contain the Roman Colosseum !

Passing through the second propylon, the astonished spectator enters an immense apartment, the roof of which—composed of enormous flat slabs—is supported by one hundred and thirty-six pillars, of infinite variety of shape and ornament, disposed in sixteen rows.

From thence, a passage through a third propylon leads him into the principal court of the temple, nearly in the centre of which stands the sanctuary, built entirely of polished granite.

Ere admittance could be gained to the Holy place, there was yet another small pylon to be passed, at the angles of which formerly stood

four granite obelisks. Of these two only are now erect : a third lies broken on the ground, and the other has either been carried away, or is buried under the surrounding ruins.

These obelisks must have stood within an hypæthral naos, or open cella, which appears to have been surrounded by a colonnade of Caryatic figures (if the anachronism may be permitted) each, with arms folded across the breast, holding the Sacred Tau, or Key of the Nile.

On either side the entrance to the sanctuary is a beautiful little Obelisk of rose-coloured granite, having their north and south faces carved (in relievo), with a lotus flower shooting from a long stem, and their other sides, with two figures bound together, in amity. One of these, painted white, is somewhat larger than the other, which is a reddish brown divinity, and holds the sacred tau. The bird of the mighty Jove hovers over their heads, and, though the hieroglyphics appear to refer to the lesser figure, the other is evidently the more powerful, and superior

in rank. They, probably, are emblematic of Alexander the Great and Egypt, or may be yet more modern, and refer to Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra.

These obelisks are clearly the work of a much later date than any portion of the temple, rendering it probable that the sanctuary was restored by the politic Greeks, after the destruction of the building itself by Cambyses.

The central passage that leads through the sanctuary is sixty feet long. A narrow avenue branches off from it to the North, which is lined with grey granite; and, though obstructed by the ruins of the fallen roof, may be traced to lead to a small chamber occupied by an enormous block of calcareous spar, the mummy of a colossal statue, but of which not a feature can now be distinguished. It probably was the principal deity of the temple (Osiris, or Jove), and, therefore, the first object to fall under the holy rage of the Persians.

Another immense apartment, larger even than any of the preceding divisions of the temple, and containing one hundred and sixty-eight columns, has to be traversed ere reach-

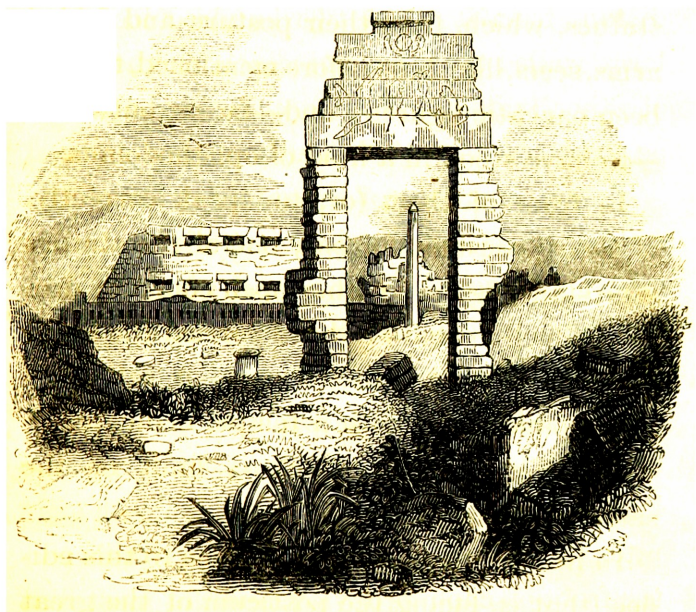
ing the posticum. In a niche, on the northern side wall of this chamber, is a handsome sarcophagus of white marble, and nearly under it a gateway.

In a small recess over the posticum is a group, carved in one block of crystallized limestone, consisting of two figures, very similar to those on the obelisks in front of the sanctuary ; and in advance of the gateway are four statues, which, from their posture and folded arms, seem, like those before mentioned, to have been caryatic figures : and—facing outwards—to have stood in a kind of opisthodomus.

In front of them (or, to speak correctly, of their pedestals, for only one of the statues was standing) is another open court, or *dromos*, which appears to have carried the great temple yet further to the east, or rather to have connected it with a temple dedicated to some inferior deity, which is built on the same alignment.

In front of the western entrance to this edifice (that is, facing the posticum of the great temple) are two mutilated granite colossi. The dimensions of the building itself are

small, but immediately beyond it is a spacious (though much ruined) peristyle court, at the eastern extremity of which, standing apart from any other building, is a small but handsome pylon, having a gateway in its centre, corresponding with the grand avenue that passes through the great temple, and making its entire length, from west to east, sixteen hundred feet.



Beyond the north wall of the *mother* temple

are the ruins of several others. The largest of these communicated with it by the lateral gateway, already noticed ; the avenue passing through its various courts and apartments being directed upon it. A double row of sphinxes prolongs this avenue to a gateway similar in all respects to that on the eastern side of the great temple.

On the south side of the great temple, and distant from it about two hundred feet, is a large walled tank, beyond which are the ruins of other buildings, but so embedded in sand as to be traced with difficulty.

To the westward of the tank are four huge ruined propylæ, standing parallel to each other, and to the south wall of the great temple, but disposed slightly "*en echellon*," so that their gateways are not aligned. They are of unequal dimensions, but all built of immense blocks of sandstone ; the first and last, only, have their gateways lined with granite. Two colossal statues formerly adorned the front of each propylon, and the most distant of the four has also two facing the rear.

These latter are of sandstone—the others of granite.

The distance of the most advanced propylon, from the south wall of the temple (in which there is a gate of communication), is about eleven hundred feet. An avenue of sphinxes extends nine hundred feet further, terminating at a detached gateway, similar to those before mentioned. This communicates with yet another *group* of temples, the principal of which seems to have been dedicated to Jupiter Ammon. It is defended on three sides by a wide tank, or pond, but appears to have been entirely surrounded by an inner fosse or dry ditch, which is lined throughout with sphinxes of dark coloured granite and basalt.

The north front of this temple is ornamented with a double row of columns, behind which—on either side the entrance—an admirable grotesque figure of the abominable Typhon decorates the wall. The budding lotus and sacred eagle are on his left; and, at his right hand, is a serpent climbing up

the stem of a lotus. But little can be made out of the other figures carved upon the walls, which have been much mutilated.

The roof of the principal apartment of the temple was supported by finely reeded columns, of which two fragments only are now standing. The Pronaos appears to have contained twelve columns of the same kind, but larger.

The foundation walls of various buildings may be traced in all directions round the tank that encloses this temple, and about midway between it and the modern road to Luxor, (distant about two hundred yards to the west), is the avenue of sphinxes, that in former ages is said to have reached the whole way between that place and Karnac.

At this spot, however, all traces of it are lost under a high embankment, that has been thrown up round the tank to retain the water of the inundation : but, when arrived at the distance of three hundred yards from a gateway, through which another temple is approached, two rows of tigers'-heads begin to protrude above the soil, and soon after the

whole of the animals' figures are displayed, arranged in compact order.

The length of this temple is four hundred feet, and it is distant about five hundred from the main temple, with which it does not stand quite at right angles. The intervening space is covered with mounds of sand and ruins; and, from a spot about midway between the two buildings, but rather to the eastward,—that is, towards the great lateral propylæ—was taken the admiral panoramic view of the temples lately exhibited in London.

From no one point, however, can an adequate idea be conveyed of the vast extent and grandeur of the principal temple. To form a just conception of the size and proportions of its interior courts, its long lines of columns, their varied forms and ornaments, &c., the spectator must be *within* the wall of the temple; but then the vast extent of the building in all its parts, its huge propylæ, gateways, &c., are lost sight of—to say nothing of the distant mountains and other requisites for making a picture.

From the posticum of this lateral temple the grand approach from Luxor was doubtless continued by an avenue of sphinxes, to a gateway in the side wall of the first court of the great temple of Karnac ; but this, from the accumulation of sand, is no longer visible.

The grand propylon faces the Nile, and is the largest edifice of the kind in Egypt, being three hundred and sixty-six feet in length. It is also approached by an avenue of sphinxes, which, in all probability, commenced at the river, distant about three quarters of a mile.

From the uniformity of plan in all the Egyptian temples, (which is to diminish gradually in width from the front propylon) it may be adduced that this was the largest of all those of which any traces now remain. It appears to have stood in the centre of a group of temples, dedicated to the worship of various deities, with each of which there appears to have been a communication, though some of the gateways are now choked up with sand and rubbish. Those which are still open, (besides the grand entrance and

posticum) are a doorway in the south wall of the third court (in the centre of which is the sanctuary) facing the four propylæ leading to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and another, (before noticed) in the north wall of the fourth court, corresponding with the temple and avenue of sphinxes on that side.

Although but four avenues of sphinxes have as yet been discovered, it can scarcely be supposed that the eastern approach to the temple was not equally ornamented. The dimensions of the great temple within the walls may be said to be one thousand six hundred feet in length, i.e. from east to west, and three hundred and sixty in breadth; but the circuit of the space occupied by the various temples and buildings connected with it (exclusive of the northern and western avenues of sphinxes) is two miles.

The date of the foundation of this temple, or city of temples, is beyond the utmost reach of the knowledge of man to establish. It is evidently the work of various ages, and some parts of it, according to the best authorities,

are considered to be more ancient than any of the other ruins now to be met with in Egypt.

Some of the sculpture on the walls is in the very best style of the Egyptian art; but to whose valorous deeds it refers is yet a matter of uncertainty, since we are by no means sure of the order of succession of the sovereigns of Egypt.

It is evident that some one of the heroes whose exploits are here engraven was a conqueror of the Jews, since long files of supplicants, whose peculiar features sufficiently mark them as belonging to that people, are following his triumphal car.

These matters I shall, however, leave for the decision of the learned in the zoologous language, and merely add that the ruins of this splendid edifice—in whatever age it may have been erected — proclaim it the most wonderful work that has been executed by the hand of man, even in this land of wonders.

We repeated our visits daily for an entire week, and always found fresh cause for admiration and astonishment in the venerable pile

—the ruin of nearly four and twenty centuries!

With regret we at length turned our backs upon it, and crossed over to the opposite bank of the river, to visit the western half of the ruins of immortal (if any city is to be so) Thebes.

The remains of temples, tombs, statues, &c., are here scattered over nearly the whole space between the Nile and the Lybian chain, but they have been so fully described, that I shall readily be excused from undertaking the task.

Numerous trifling errors have been made by my precursors, but it would be useless to correct them, excepting for the gratification of the hieroglyphico-maniac. To the general reader it can signify but little whether the hero of the Memnonium is receiving offerings in the pronaos, or in the cella.

This temple, by the bye, is now called the Rhamsséion, and both it and that of Medinet Abou face the east. On the outer wall of the latter is a battle scene, that has been most poetically described by Dr. Richardson. It

is in every respect worthy of his three grandiloquent pages on the horrors of war.

Monsieur Champollion, determined not to be outdone, describes it in equally glowing colours. The four sons of the heroic Rhamses Meiamoun, who, he says, are making a "*horrible carnage*," are standing together, bending their bows with outstretched arms, very much in the attitude of the Horatii in David's celebrated picture—which, perhaps, excited this excessive admiration for the Egyptian sculpture on the part of his "*compatriote*."

The speech of the victorious hero to his assembled chiefs—as translated by the learned Frenchman—shows the wonderful variety of terms and energy of expression that the hieroglyphical language admitted of. It approaches nearer to the "sublime and beautiful" of one of Napoleon's bulletins than any thing I have ever read — *par exemple* : "*Les étrangers sont renversés par ma force ; la terreur de mon nom est venue — leurs cœurs en ont été remplis—je me suis présenté devant eux comme un lion—je les ai poursuivis semblable à un*

épervier," &c.!! One could hardly have supposed that any combination of beetles, geese, and ibises, could have produced such an overflow of eloquence.

The Rhamsséion, Monsieur Champollion assures the world, was the palace of the great Sesostris; but where the mighty monarch could possibly find accommodation in it for himself, family, and suite, I am at a loss to conceive. The whole palace, including the outer courts and the propylæ, is but five hundred feet long and about two hundred wide, and could have contained but two apartments, besides the great *salle hypostyle*. This he states to have been a *grande salle d'Assemblée*, and maintains that even one of the two smaller apartments was a *library*.

If there were other chambers, as Monsieur Champollion supposed, (of which there is not the least appearance) then his laborious attempt to prove that this edifice is the one described by Diodorus Siculus as the monument of Osymandyas falls altogether to the ground. But the truth is, the building resem-

bles in its general plan all the other ancient Egyptian temples; the *grande salle d'assemblée* of which was most probably the place of worship of the multitude—for I question much whether *politics* were ever discussed in a general assembly of the people in the days of Sesostris. This is quite a French idea of the nineteenth century.

Carried away by his enthusiastic admiration for the works of the ancient Egyptians, Monsieur Champollion has even gone so far as to express a doubt of the value of the art of perspective. “*Chaque groupe considéré apart,*” says he on this subject, “*sera trouvé certainement defectueux dans quelques points relatif à la perspective, où aux proportions comparativement aux parties voisines,*” and then adds, that “*les plus beaux vases grecs, représentant des combats, pèchent précisément, (si pèché il y a), sous les mêmes rapports que ces bas reliefs Egyptiens.*”

Now, let the demerits of the Grecian vases be what they may, I do not see how the value of the Egyptian work can be at all

raised by the comparison ; since he might as well have said that the rules of perspective are violated on the pictorial soup tureens of our modern crockery-ware.

The sculpture of the Egyptians, to which Champollion alluded, was not carved on common vases, but on the tombs of their kings, or on the walls of their temples ; and it may fairly be looked upon, therefore, as the work of the *best artists* the country could produce at the time of its execution.

No one, however, ever yet saw an Egyptian figure represented in any posture in which the human form as now constructed could possibly stand.* The hands also are nearly always either both right or both left, and the eye is invariably full, though the face is always in profile. It must, therefore, I think be admitted, in spite of Monsieur Champollion's doubt on the subject, that "*peché il y a.*"

Whatever merit has hitherto been allowed to the Egyptians for their knowledge in the

* Some author (I think Winkelman) has said the Egyptians sacrificed to every divinity but *the Graces*.

arts of painting and sculpture, Monsieur Champollion's arguments go to deprive them of, since he says that the inscriptions on the walls of the numerous temples erected to commemorate the conquests of Sesostris were executed "*de su vivant*." Now, Diodorus Siculus asserts that this same great sovereign made it his boast that none of his *subjects* were employed on any of the works executed during his reign—amongst which he enumerates a temple in every city throughout Egypt. It consequently follows that the specimens of sculpture which Monsieur Champollion admired so much were the works of foreigners.

The Rhamsséion, or Memnonium, whether a temple or a palace,* is, next to the Temple

* I have already, in a preceding note, pointed out an apparent inconsistency on the part of Mons. Champollion, in ascribing the hieroglyphical deeds sculptured on the walls to persons who evidently did not understand the language in which such flattery was offered to them. I do not, however, mean to maintain that the hieroglyphics were used merely as ornaments, for I think they were originally conventional signs, adopted by the priesthood, understood only by them, and lost on their "occupation ceasing," when their temples were thrown down by the Persians. Mons. Champollion may have discovered the clue to this conventional language,

of Karnac, the finest specimen that remains of Egyptian architecture. It is not quite so large as the Temple of Edfou, nor by any means so perfect, but it presents a great variety of ornaments and a higher degree of *finish*.

The two celebrated colossal statues of Memnon, commonly known as "Shammy and Dammy," are chiselled from blocks of highly crystallized grit-stone, with numerous agates embedded, and of a similar nature to some rocks I saw in the bed of the Nile, at Hagar Silsilis, from whence, in all probability, these colossi were brought. They face the east, (nearly opposite the temple of Luxor), and,

but his pretending to a perfect knowledge of it was going rather too far.

Is it not probable, that the arts having revived in Egypt when under the dominion of the Greeks, whilst the meaning of the hieroglyphical characters had been lost during the two eventful centuries that elapsed between the conquests of Cambyses and that of Alexander, they were thenceforth copied without change, either in form or arrangement? It is easy to conceive that such might again be the case if Egypt were left to itself for even half a century, and during that period its inhabitants should acquire a taste for sculpture and painting, without having better models before their eyes than those remaining on the walls of their ruined temples.

from being situated in a vast plain, apart from any other objects, can be seen at a great distance ; and look very like two gouty old gentlemen, with their legs wrapped up in flannel. The most northerly of the two has been broken and put together again ; this was the celebrated vocalist described by ancient writers ; and some modern travellers, doubtful of the loss of his musical talent—have been persuaded to sit by his side all night in the hope of hearing his morning song.

A short distance behind the two colossi are the ruins of another temple, but they now scarcely protrude themselves above the level of the sand that has drifted round them. Some of the remaining stones are of the same nature as that of the two statues.

The Temple of Dair is cut in great part in the perpendicular face of the mountain that rises behind it, and nearly fronting the grand propylon of the Temple of Karnac. The figures of animals carved on the walls of this building are particularly good. It has evidently been used as a place of Christian

worship, and the plaster with which the heathen figures were covered has kept them in excellent preservation.

The Temple of Dair Medinet Abou is situated considerably to the south of Dair, and stands some distance from the foot of the mountains. The only thing for which it is remarkable is the sculpture on its walls. In one place, the great Osiris is receiving offerings from an inferior deity — amongst which a female, in a state of nudity, is presented for his acceptance. Another deity of the fair sex turns her back upon the scene.

The tombs of the kings (Biban el Malook) are in a rocky ravine, on the eastern side of the Lybian chain, nearly behind the Memnonium. The mountains are of a fine white lime-stone, having numerous flints and agates embedded in it, and rest upon a schistose foundation. Some of the rents in the rock are filled with beautiful crystallizations, and there are numerous petrifications, zoophytes, shells, &c.

The tomb discovered by Belzoni is by far

the most interesting, from the freshness of the colouring and comparatively perfect state of its walls, but the admission of air and Monsieur Champollion have tended much to destroy its beauty. It has been cruelly mutilated by every traveller since the scientific Frenchman set the example.

The supposition that the passage discovered by Belzoni under the sarcophagus (and in which he penetrated to the distance of three hundred feet) leads to the eastern side of the mountains is rather fanciful, since its direction is about s.s.w. It probably communicates with some other entrance to the tomb from another ravine.

There are other tombs more extensive than Belzoni's, (as it is usually called) but I think none in which the figures are so well executed, which, in it, by the way, are almost all in relief; whereas the others are mostly intaglio. There is a great similarity in the *plan* of all. A small square vestibule, from whence a long passage inclining gradually downwards, and communicating with various small apartments,

or cells, right and left—reaches a rectangular transverse chamber, the roof of which, in most instances, is carved in the form of an arch, out of the solid rock. Thence, continuing its downward course, the passage finally arrives at the sepulchre of the great personage, whose bones the mania for the “diffusion of useful knowledge” will no longer allow to remain quietly in the red granite sarcophagus, prepared with so much labour and expense for their reception.

The figures with which the walls are covered throughout are of the same deformed brute-headed divinities that decorate the temples. They are carved without the least regard to perspective, or proportions, and daubed all over with the most gaudy colours that, in early ages, the vegetable and mineral worlds were known to produce.

The village of Gournou is situated on the acclivity of the mountain, about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the valley of the Nile. Its inhabitants dwell mostly in caverns and tombs practised in the face of

the hills, and are notorious for carrying on a considerable trade in mummies and other articles of *virtù*. Of late years, however, their traffic has been attended with some risk, Mohammed Ali having prohibited the digging for, and carrying away, *antiquities*, throughout his dominions. He has, in consequence, been accused of having *monopolized* this branch of commerce; but this statement is by no means borne out by facts, as he himself takes no part in and derives no part from the disgusting trade in old bones and dried flesh.

The Viceroy's reasons for putting a stop to the unprofitable and sacrilegious violation of the tombs of the ancients is, that it took a number of hands from the much more beneficial occupation of husbandry; for the fields were neglected, whilst the tombs were dug up and rifled. He is always ready, however, to grant permission to explore to such persons as are actuated solely by scientific motives.

Ibrahim Pasha employs a number of persons constantly in excavating amongst the various ruins: and most of the foreign Consuls,

also, avail themselves of the Viceroy's liberality in bestowing resurrectionising diplomas. His indulgence to foreigners on this score (as indeed on most others) is, of course, much abused; for the eagerness with which every sort of trash is purchased by travellers makes the trade a very profitable concern, and opens a wide door for fraud, by the encouragement it gives to the *manufacture* of mummies.*

* The following story was in circulation whilst I was in Egypt, which, though I will not vouch for its "whole" truth, is not sufficiently improbable (considering the eccentric habits of my countrymen) to be altogether regarded as fiction.

An English traveller had a great desire to be mummified after the manner of the ancient Egyptians; and, having paid in advance to the operators, bound them by a solemn oath to do his bidding, prepared his sarcophagus, and written a long notice of his life and opinions, swallowed a dose of arsenic. He was, of course, "gathered to his fathers;"—his body underwent the embalming process, and—the papyrus having been placed on his ambitious breast—was enclosed in the red granite case, and deposited in a tomb that had been prepared for its reception.

Not many years afterwards, some roguish Arabs sold the precious relic to a learned Frenchman, who carried it to Paris—vain beyond belief of having acquired such a treasure, which—judging from the splendour of the case—he thought must be a Pharaoh at least. A party of brother *savans* were invited to assist at the ceremony of unrollment, when—after some hundred yards of fine linen had been

Taking a reluctant leave of the ruined city of the Hundred Gates, we once more got under weigh; and, favoured by a light breeze, dropped down in the course of a night to the landing-place of Kheneh.

We proceeded at once to the house of our old acquaintance, Sheik Hassan, to request his aid to procure us camels and guides to take us to Kosseir. He undertook to have every thing requisite ready for us on the day appointed, and letters prepared for his son, who filled the office of British consular agent at that port.

Our curiosity in matters of Arab domestic economy induced us to accept his invitation to dinner for the morrow: and these matters being arranged, we crossed over to the left bank of the river, and passed the rest of the day in exploring the extensive ruins of Denderah.

The temples at Denderah, being the first, removed—the papyrus was discovered, which, in plain English, declared the great defunct to have been a Mr. Peter Simpkins of Fenchurch Street and Camberwell Grove, soapboiler and salt-refiner to the Royal Family, and many years an inmate of St. Luke's.

on a *large scale*, that are met with in *ascending* the Nile, make an impression upon the traveller that has given them an undeserved celebrity as compared with those that he afterwards meets with.

There are the remains of two temples yet visible, both, I am inclined to say, of a modern date. One is but small, faces the south, and must have opened into one of the outer courts of the Great Temple, which stands at right angles to it, facing the east. It appears to have been dedicated to the evil spirit, Typhon, whose hideous form is carved above the capitals of the columns in the portico. On the interior walls, Isis is represented suckling Horus, and attended by Typhon and his *cara sposa*. The figures are all in relief.

The propyla of the Great Temple are nearly destroyed, but its magnificent pronaos of twenty-four Isis-headed columns is in excellent preservation. The columns are nearly seven feet in diameter, and their distance from centre to centre is twenty-four feet; so that the intercolumniations are about equal to two

diameters and a half of the pillars—a nearer approach than any other I met with in Egypt to the due proportions prescribed by Grecian taste.

On the ceiling of the pronaos, the signs of the zodiac are painted. The Temple contains three large apartments *en suite*, from which passages and staircases lead to an upper range of small chambers, curiously sculptured and painted.

On our arrival at Sheik Hassan's, at the appointed dinner-hour, he informed us that six camels had been engaged for the morrow to carry us to Kosseir, for which and the return (staying there two entire days) we were to pay the moderate sum of forty-five piastres each—about twelve shillings and sixpence in English money.

After enumerating the various precautions we must take, over a preparatory pipe, dinner was brought in, and we sat down to table, a *partie quarrée*, in most Christian fashion, each person, besides a chair, being provided with a knife, fork, and spoon.

Our fare consisted of a lamb roasted whole, and stuffed with a farci of rice, raisins, and pistachio nuts. This was followed by a turkey, dressed in the same manner, and various stews of meat and vegetables. These were in turn succeeded by two immense dishes of a kind of paste, of the consistence of ravioli, one flavoured with cheese, the other with honey.

A huge bowl of rice and cream closed the substantial repast, which was washed down with some tolerable wine, and a bottle of "*Hodgson's pale ale*," that had been presented to our host by an English gentleman, who passed through Kheneh on his way home *from India*, and which the worthy old Sheik—telling us it was *Bengal wine*—thought must needs be a great treat.

We were waited upon at dinner by the Sheik's two sons and grandson, who changed our plates as required, and handed the dishes off to the domestics, ranged in second line, near the door communicating with the base of operations.

They were quite lost in astonishment at our strangely circuitous mode of conveying the food to our mouths ; and, judging by a suppressed female giggling we occasionally heard, they were not the only persons that derived amusement from the curious manœuvres of our knives and forks. The usual ablution over, we resumed our seats on the divan, and replenished pipes.

CHAPTER II.

Departure for Kosseir—Pace of the Dromedary—Wells at El Gaytah—Observations on the Desert—Pass of Issud—El Megrib—The Consular Agent at Kosseir—American Trickery—The Citadel—Hospitality of Said Mohammed—An Arab Dinner—New Route—Mountain Pass—Wad-el-Ash—Hints to the Traveller—Nomadic Arab Tribes—Partridges and Grouse—Return to Kheneh—Seizure of our Boatmen for the Nizam—Visit to Girgeh—Apprehension of the Delinquents—The Bastinado—Town of Akhmin—Minieh—Return to Cairo.

At an early hour the following morning we mounted our camels on the beach, and started for Kosseir. The road, after leaving Kheneh, takes a south-easterly direction, skirting the cultivated land that hereabouts extends some distance from the bank of the river.

In four hours we reached the village of Beerahambah, beyond which all cultivation ceases. It is a wretched place, containing about one hundred inhabitants. After an hour's rest, which we stood in some need of, we resumed our exalted seats, but it took us

six hours to reach the wells of El Gaytah, where we arrived dreadfully fatigued from our inexperience in this new mode of traveling—for the motion of the dromedary is, to a novice, peculiarly wearying. The animal's long step throws the body forward, and produces a constant action of the back, which is painfully increased if the saddle be not placed quite even on the animal's broad shoulder.

At his usual pace, the dromedary gets over the ground at the rate of about two miles and a half an hour, but when made to step out, he will travel three and a half. His pleasantest pace is a sort of amble, or what the Spaniards call *paso*, at which he goes at from five to six miles an hour. His *trot* is to be recommended only to rheumatic subjects, and is utter destruction to all friable articles. His stumble—at whatever pace he may be proceeding—is awful !

A dromedary is merely a finer race of camel, whose paces are rather quicker, and motion more *springy*, and therefore less disagreeable. These animals undergo hunger and thirst

with great patience; but they by no means carry a burthen in proportion to their size. I have seen a little donkey with half a camel load upon his back outwalk them with ease.

In crossing the desert, however, travellers will find it to their advantage to use the larger animal; the rider being removed to so much greater a distance from the heated sand, and put in the way of getting any little air there may be stirring. We found a wonderful difference in the heat whenever we dismounted. That operation, by the way, is by no means an agreeable one, particularly to the tyro in camelestrianism, who, from the suddenness with which the animal drops on his knees, risks having his nose brought in collision with the camel's poll.

El Gaytah, where we arrived very late, consists of three wells of bad water, and two wretched hovels for the accommodation of travellers, but has no permanent inhabitants. We found a large caravan encamped round the wells, but the buildings unoccupied; so, giving up the larger of the two to our ser-

vants and camel-drivers, we spread our mattresses and carpets upon the floor of the other, (a small mosque or the tomb of some saint) glad to have four walls to shelter us from the cold night-blast of the desert.

Resuming our march at daybreak, much refreshed by our night's rest, we pushed our camels on at a brisk pace ; and, in about an hour and a half, reached the foot of the intricate belt of mountains that extends between the Nile and the Red Sea, spreading its labyrinth of ramifications in all directions.

Since leaving the village of Beerahambah, our road (a hard sandy track, covered with large coarse pebbles) had been perfectly level ; the country on all sides a dreary expanse of desert, the horizon broken only by occasional ranges of shifting sand-hills. Not a house, nor a tree, was to be seen any where ; and there was nothing but the extraordinary effects of the *mirage*, and an occasional drove of camels, bearing supplies to the Egyptian army employed in Arabia, to break the wearisome sameness of the journey.

The change to a narrow valley, bounded by hills, which gradually increased in height as we proceeded onwards, was, at first, pleasing enough ; but the reflected heat from the white cliffs, and want of air, soon made us regret the open desert.

The numberless windings of the valley always gave us something to look forward to, however ; and, as we got farther into the heart of the mountains, we did occasionally see an old tower perched upon the summit of some crag that, in former days, interdicted the advance of an enemy by the narrow pass.

The formation of this mountain range is very peculiar ; stretching from the confines of Nubia, as far north as the latitude of Cairo—where it terminates abruptly in the steep cliffs of the Mokattan and Ettajah ranges—the chain, though broken constantly by isolated peaks, no where presents a continuous ridge, running north and south. On the other hand, it is furrowed laterally by innumerable valleys, whose rugged, bounding ledges completely intersect it from east to west.

The beds of these valleys are very narrow, and so flat, that in proceeding along them, the rise and fall of the ground is barely perceptible. The mountains sometimes rise perpendicularly along them for several miles, broken only by the gorges of other ravines.

The road, by constant traffic, has become well defined; otherwise, without a guide, it would be next to impossible to make one's way across this intricate country, the ravines being all so much alike, and that by which the road proceeds often winding in the very direction you think you ought *not* to take.

Besides the tramp of feet, the way has now become well marked by the bleached bones of the numerous animals that have fallen under the joint weight of years and an oppressive burden. Sometimes a flight of hungry vultures swoops round the startled traveller, fixing their keen eyes upon the emaciated brute he rides, as he moves slowly and mournfully along, as if to judge what length of time he will yet have to wait for his repast. At others, they may be seen disputing over the carcase

of some recently deceased animal, heedless of the approach of man — unscared even by the whizzing of his bullet. They afforded us excellent pistol practice.

In four hours and three quarters, we arrived at some ruined wells, and crossed the head of a wide valley, opening to the north. Beyond it a lofty granite range of mountains stretches away to the east. Continuing our journey, in seven hours and a half from the time of our setting out, we reached the well of El Hamamat (baths), the descent to which is by a circular stone staircase. The well is sixty feet deep, but we found no water in it. Several sarcophagi were lying about, that had served as troughs for watering cattle. Some of them were made of a very hard and beautiful breccia verde, numerous blocks of which were lying scattered about.

A little beyond the well, an old tower frowns upon the narrow ravine from a steep hill on the left; and, some distance further on, we reached the foot of a lofty peak, that had served us all day as a kind of directing mark.

We reached the well of Issud after ten hours and a half's riding, and pitched our tent at the mouth of a cavern that had served as a burying-place in former ages, and was swarming with bats. The water of the well is strongly impregnated with salt and sulphur, which obliged us to have recourse to our buffalo-skins of Nile water.

The pass of Issud is about half a mile long, very narrow, and rough; and may be considered as the connecting link of the great mountain-chain that divides the Nile from the Red Sea—for the ascent and descent in the road are both very perceptible.

We reached El Megrib in an hour and three quarters: it consists only of some ruined buildings. From thence, during the following eight hours, our way was bounded on the left by a range of lofty mountains, and towards sunset we arrived at some wells situated in a small plain, under the peaked Gibel Abumelad, where we encamped for the night.

We reached the Bir Inglese (Well of the

English) in three hours and a half from our resting-place. The valley there becomes more open, and the hills gradually lower. A limestone stratum again overlays the granite and sand-stone, and the *blue* surface of the *Red* Sea may be seen in the distance. In three hours more we reached Kosseir, which is screened from view until arrived close under its walls, by a point of land that projects into the sea, sheltering it to the south-west.

To persons arriving from the banks of the Hoogley, I can conceive Kosseir must appear a miserable place enough ; to one, however, who has recently left the mud-built towns on the banks of the Nile, it wears an aspect of comfort and cleanliness, quite refreshing to the senses. It is far cleaner, and infinitely better built, than any Egyptian town south of Cairo.

We found the consular agent (who somehow or other had been apprized of our approach) a most obliging person. He had prepared a house for our accommodation ; and a clean room, carpeted and divaned, some excel-

lent coffee, and a plentiful supply of fresh water, were "*impayable*" luxuries after the discomforts of the wilderness. Having "made ourselves decent," we accompanied the Consul to visit the Governor. A band of music was stationed at his door, consisting of four kettle-drums of various sizes, upon which the performers played with all their might, on our approach. We found his excellency had made an extraordinary advance in Frank innovation and activity, being seated on a *chair*—the pipe, however, was at his mouth.

He was a pleasant, and, for a Turk, well-informed man, talked politics freely, and said that, but for the English, French, and Russians, (he would not give the credit to any *one*) Mohammed Ali would now have been master of Constantinople. After the usual coffee and pipes, we took our leave, urgently pressed by the governor to repeat our visit ere we took our departure from his government.

The population of Kosseir is probably about three thousand souls. I could obtain no very *precise answer* to my inquiries on the subject

—the reply being always truly Turco-Arabic.
“*Caffier ! mini araf ?*” (Many ! who knows ?)

The town has increased considerably of late years, and its trade is evidently thriving. The market is dear—many of the necessities of life are particularly so—yet I saw far less misery in the place than in most Arab towns. Wood, for instance, is brought from a distance of thirty miles, and water—fit to drink—is not to be had nearer than fourteen.

The only things to be procured at a reasonable price are fish and Mocha coffee, or rather what is sold as such, for the Americans have of late years played us Europeans a trick, by taking their own produce to Mocha and bartering it for that of Arabia.

This patriotic conduct on the part of cousin Jonathan was found, in the outset, to be so beneficial to Mohammed Ali's *coffers*, that every encouragement was given to the traffic, but the fraud, having been detected, will probably have the effect of driving all coffee that passes through Egypt out of the European markets.

The principal trade of Kosseir is with Jedda and the other ports on the eastern coast of the Red Sea. It is likely to increase considerably, when a communication with India by steam comes to be permanently established, as goods can be much more conveniently landed here than at Suez, and there is nothing whatever to prevent a railroad being laid down to Kheneh. In fact, by merely levelling the road through the pass of Issud, a steam-carriage might almost travel now without the necessity for a railway.

The anchorage of Kosseir is bad, being completely open from seaward, and only partially sheltered from the northerly winds by a sandy point, which juts some distance into the sea, terminating in a coral reef.

The Red Sea abounds in shell-fish of infinite variety, offering a great treat to the conchologist, but valued only by the inhabitants of Kosseir according to their possessing nutritious qualities, or otherwise ; for they have no notion of the superiority in rank claimed by a thorny woodcock over a yellow admiral.

One small garden on the sea-shore is the only speck of vegetation within sight of the town ; but the distant mountain scenery to the south is strikingly fine.

The governor very politely sent his stud, consisting of a restive mule and a donkey, to take us to old Kosseir—a distance of five miles from the modern town—but there is little to excite interest, the foundations of the fort alone remaining to mark its site.

I could not obtain admission to the citadel—as it is ostentatiously called—the governor assigning as an excuse for his refusal of my request, that some part of his female establishment was living in it. It is, however, but little worthy of notice—a mere square fort of rough masonry, unprotected by a ditch and flanked only by circular bastions, and strengthened by a kind of *couvre-porte* on the side towards the town.

Several old pieces of artillery are mounted on the walls, which, if brought into play, would do more mischief to the firers than the fired at. I perfectly satisfied my curiosity from

the exterior, committing my notes to paper free from the obtrusive gaze of sentinels.

During our stay at Kosseir, we were most hospitably entertained by Said Mohammed, son of our good friend Sheik Hassan, the consul at Kheneh, and himself his Britannic Majesty's agent at Kosseir. He kindly provided us with all things needful, and always favoured us with his company at our seven o'clock dinner.

The Arab *cuisine* produces many dishes that are far from being unpalatable; but the Arabs are by no means pleasant dinner companions. Their custom of hurrying over the affair as if it were a punishment, and, moreover, their habit of dipping hands into the various dishes on table—wandering from one to another as fancy or appetite prompts—are particularly disagreeable.

The worst of all their practices, however, is, when wishing to be particularly marked in their attention, they tear a tit-bit off the joint before them, and throw it across the table into your plate, or, perchance—if your

mouth should unhappily be within their reach—insist on cramming it therein. I shuddered whenever I saw dear, old Said Mohammed's fat hand plunge into the very innermost recesses of a turkey's craw, dreading lest I was to be selected as the victim of his kind attention.

Water was our only beverage during the repast—and, the operation of washing hands over, (in which, by the bye, they improve upon our custom, by using *hot* water) we resumed our pipes—which had only quitted our mouths on dinner being placed on the table—and we were served with coffee.

On the third day after that on which we had arrived at Kosseir, we bade adieu to our worthy host, who was very unwilling to allow even his servants to receive a present from us; and, loaded with good things for the journey, started on our return to Kheneh.

By way of varying, in some measure, the scenery, we determined to take a different road back from that by which we had come: and, though we lengthened the distance by the change, (increasing it from ninety-six to one

hundred and two miles), to attempt effecting the journey in three days.

The route we now selected, besides the advantage of novelty, possessed that of having some wells of drinkable water upon it. In other respects, it was equally uninteresting, yet more lonely, and the country quite as arid.

It strikes off from the former road at the Bir Inglese, (three hours from Kosseir) entering a valley that debouches on the little plain, in the centre of which the wells have been sunk. After travelling eight hours from thence, under an unseasonably hot sun, and, consequently, over an abominably hot sandy road, I got so bad a headache that I was obliged to beg a halt; and we pitched our tent for the night by the road side, having rendered ourselves independent of the wells by a provision of two skins of Kosseir water.

We resumed our journey before daybreak, and, in an hour, reached some wells, situated in the mouth of a very narrow valley—I may say chasm—for it is contracted by high per-

pendicular cliffs, to a width that barely exceeds that of the road. Half an hour's riding brought us to two more wells, (Bir Moilah) and yet a little further on are some others, but the water of all is equally bad. Soon after passing the last wells the valley again widens.

The whole length of this extraordinary mountain gorge is about two miles and a half, and such is its nature that fifty determined men would prevent the advance of a whole army.

A much more open country than any we had hitherto traversed extended for about five miles, from the pass to the wells of *Wad-el-Ash*. The water of these, though having a soft vegetable taste, that is not pleasant, is, nevertheless, wholesome—and indeed may be considered the only water drinkable by man in this part of the great desert. The position of the wells is, therefore, important. They are calculated as being distant ten Arab miles* from Kosseir, twelve from Kheneh, and twenty-four from Edfou.

* The Arab mile is about five English.

In travelling from Kheneh to Kosseir, when expedition is the object, this, though rather the longer of the two roads, is decidedly to be preferred, on account of the advantage offered by these wells; for, by employing dromedaries, the distance may be easily accomplished in two days, but, if water has to be carried, two and a half are required. By making Wad-el-Ash, therefore, the halting-place for the night, the necessity for carrying water is avoided. Besides this, an animal cannot travel fast when laden with two skins of water. The *element*, too, does not improve by being jolted a whole day on the back of a camel and exposed to a hot sun.

The traveller should carry a tent with him, as there is no shelter on this road between Beerhambah and Kosseir, and exposure to the night air is very dangerous in this climate. We experienced, indeed, some smart showers of rain during the last night of our journey: and, on that of our return to our boat, at Kheneh, we were completely drenched by a

tremendous storm ;—so much for Upper Egypt's being exempt from rain !

We pushed on from Wad-el-Ash after getting some breakfast, and ten hours more hard riding (thirteen and three quarters from our previous night's bivouac) brought us to our old quarters in the mosque at Beerhambah, at which the two roads from Kosseir reunite.

I cannot say that the southern road possesses any greater interest than the other. It traverses a more open and somewhat higher level of country, but the slopes are equally gradual. There is not a tree, and scarcely a bush, to break the wearying sameness of the barren mountain scenery—not a house nor even ruin to indicate that the country ever has been inhabited.

Round the different wells on both roads, we found nomadic tribes of the Ababde Arabs encamped, whose shaggy dress, wild looks, and thick, bushy, uncombed hair were in strict keeping with the savage scenery around.

On approaching the wells, we met with a

few coveys of sand partridges and flocks of pigeons that gave us some amusement, but scarcely a meal, for they were extremely shy and wary. The former have, perhaps, more of the character of the grouse, both in their plumage (inasmuch as that they are feathered down to the feet) and call. The colour of the feathers of their backs and wings so nearly resembles that of the sand, that it is with difficulty they can be distinguished, excepting when in motion ; but under the wings their feathers are very dark.

There is another kind of grouse met with on the banks of the Nile, whose plumage is mottled ; of this the flesh is excellent, which cannot be said of that of the sand partridge of the desert.

To the geologist, the journey across the desert is highly interesting, by whatever route he travels. The surface of the earth, unveiled by a particle of vegetation, is fully exposed to his observation, and the changes from the lime-stone to the sand-stone formation, and afterwards successively to the argil-

laceous, schistose, basaltic, and granitic, are very marked and curious. In some places, we passed high cliffs, composed entirely of serpentine—in others, huge mountains of breccia verde.

We reached Kheneh in nine hours from Beerahambah, having taken nearly thirty-four hours (exclusively of stoppages) to perform the journey. We found that our boat had only that morning returned from Girgeh with our friend D——, who, from previous indisposition, had not felt quite equal to the journey to Kosseir, and had been amusing himself during our absence in visiting the towns in the neighbourhood of Kheneh.

His return had been retarded, in consequence of the seizure of the Reis and one of the crew of our boat (at the village of Lembieh, where they had been sent on shore to purchase provisions), to serve in the Nizam; and a personal application to the governor of the district, whose head-quarters were at Girgeh, had been necessary to obtain their release.

The *Détenus* were given up, on an order to that effect having been sent off to the village—my friend D—— wisely remaining at Girgeh until they were delivered up to him; but the poor fellows had been robbed, beaten, pini-
oned, and confined for two days in a well. The Governor screened the perpetrators of this barbarity from punishment, by declaring that the *kawasses* he had sent to Lembieh had not been able to secure them, as they had fled into the desert.

Having ascertained that the Sheik el Belled's deputy was the chief offender, and that it was to save two of his dependents from the conscription that our boatmen had been seized, we determined that he should not escape the punishment he so richly deserved, and accordingly we laid a plan to kidnap and take him to Girgeh ourselves, and compel the Governor to do justice between the parties.

The Reis and boat's crew entered warmly into our well-concerted plan, but the first act of our melo-drama failed, from unavoidable circumstances. Remaining a day at Kheneh,

to replenish our stock of provisions and throw our friends at Lembieh the more off their guard, we timed our departure from thence so as to reach the village by dawn on the following morning.

We immediately landed a strong and well-armed party, and, guided by the Reis, proceeded straight to the Sheik's abode.

The village dignitary was taken completely by surprise, and was dreadfully alarmed at our hostile attitude; but, on learning our purpose, declared, by all that was holy in Cairo, Mekka, and Medina, that the offenders had been sent to Girgeh some days previously, and were consequently then in the governor's hands, and doubtless undergoing punishment in prison.

Having satisfied ourselves that, at all events, the first part of this story was correct (which proved the Governor of Girgeh's duplicity), and compelled the Sheik to refund the money of which the boatmen had been robbed, we re-embarked, and proceeded on our voyage to Girgeh, where we arrived in the afternoon.

We landed forthwith, and were on our way to the governor's house, when our Reis espied his two quondam acquaintances comfortably seated at a coffee-shop, smoking their chibouques. They had the impudence, in the first moment of recognition, to greet their victims with a most friendly salaam. Their second impulse—at the sight of “Dick's” wrathful countenance—was, however, to run away; but his strip of hippopotamus hide overtook them in a trice, and, whilst his powerful arms pini-
oned the principal delinquent, the other was secured by our Maltese servant and the Reis, and both were marched prisoners through the town, to their unspeakable horror and the great astonishment of the inhabitants.

We proceeded, of course, to the governor's house, and, being informed that he was holding a grand levée, presented ourselves to his Excellency without any announcement. He was not a little surprised at the cortège that followed us, and looked extremely *sheepish*. It was clear that he had not intended to punish the offenders, unless some further notice should

be taken of the affair by us ; and, even now—after he had had time to regain his self-possession—seemed disposed to shuffle off doing what we required.

Producing the Viceroy's firman, we demanded respectfully, but firmly, that, in virtue of the injunctions therein contained, to “render us aid and assistance,” &c., he would instantly punish the perpetrators of an offence so heinous against the laws of their own country, and so insulting to us, foreigners, travelling under the protection of its sovereign, Mohammed Ali.

The Arabs like to hear Mohammed Ali called their *Soldan*. A murmur of approbation ran through the crowd of satellites that encircled the Viceroy's lieutenant (himself an Arab)—our flourish, in fact, had produced the desired effect. The witnesses were at hand : their evidence clear—the delinquents stood before him. - So, after sundry Mashallahs ! and numerous protestations of his respect for Mohammed Ali, and regard for all Franks—Englishmen in particular — his Excellency

most composedly asked, if we should like to have one of the culprits hanged !

This obliging offer, which, no doubt, was dictated by the most refined politeness (for the power of inflicting death being no longer in his hands, we were aware that his proposed sacrifice could be intended only as a compliment), we begged leave to decline, adding (moved a little thereto, I must confess, by curiosity), that a slight bastinadoing, administered on the spot, would quite satisfy us, though the crime perhaps called for a much more severe punishment.

A ring was instantly formed. The feet of one of the delinquents were fastened by iron clamps to a stake, and, after being hand-bound, he was thrown flat upon his belly ; the soles of his feet were then turned up by means of the stake, and two Kawasses proceeded to belabour them most unmercifully with strong thongs of hippopotamus hide, and he to bellow *Aman ! aman !* (mercy ! mercy !)

Unconscious of the etiquette observed on

these occasions, I was beginning to get very much disgusted with this mode of punishment, which had already proceeded to a great length, when I perceived, by certain anxious glances cast by the spectators, first on us, and then on the governor, that we were "out of order," somehow or other. Calling upon *Dick* to explain, I learnt, to my consternation, that I was expected to signify when I wished the punishment to cease. This I immediately did, amidst the approving exclamation of *Taibe! taibe!* (good) from all the old magnates assembled.

I was sorry that such a mistake had occurred, as the principal offender was still to be punished, to whom I felt but little inclined to be merciful. The *Kawasses*, however, for what reason I know not, unless that they expected a *backschis* from us proportioned to their exertions, resumed their work with increased vigour when the feet of the adjunct of the *Sheik el Belled of Lembieh* were placed before them.

Not content with crimping his soles, they

inflicted a portion of their blows upon a part of his body, that must have effectually prevented his sitting *à la turque*, with any degree of comfort, for a fortnight.

The culprits were then conducted to jail, and limped off in a most pitiable plight, to the no small amusement of the crowd of spectators. The office of executioner appeared to be much sought after—Kawasses; slaves, eunuchs—all seemed to be equally amateurs of the art.

The business over, pipes and coffee were brought in, and the governor was remarkably civil, offering us the use of his horses, greyhounds, &c. We had to give a handsome present to his *suite*, as well for the active service they had been doing us, as for a peace-offering of lambs, fowls, and eggs, that were sent down to our boat as we were getting under weigh.

The next place that attracted our attention on our return to Cairo, was Akhmin, a large town standing about a quarter of a mile from the eastern bank of the Nile, on the site of

the ancient Chemnis. It was formerly noted for the number of its Coptic inhabitants, and, indeed, to this day, contains a large proportion, but it has fallen much from its high estate, the total population not exceeding six thousand souls.

This town is of a rectangular shape, enclosed by a wall of sun-burnt bricks. The streets are wide and regular, but the houses are poor and in a ruinous condition. The convents, for which it was celebrated, are in as dilapidated a state as the houses, and the mosques in nearly the same condition. In fact, the only tenantable edifices are the pigeon-houses.

The place is strewn with fragments of marble and granite columns, and contains the ruins of an ancient temple, on the foundation walls of which a party of workmen were busily engaged, clearing out the stones for *exportation*; so that, by this time, the lime-stone Isises and other divinities are, probably, hiding their heads within the walls of some cotton factory.

From the number of Copts at Akhmin, I expected to find some commerce going on, as these people seldom congregate in places where money or litigation is not rife: but, excepting a little flax-spinning and indigo-dyeing, I saw nothing going on within the walls, almost all the inhabitants being employed in agriculture.

The adjacent country is remarkably well irrigated, and produces abundant crops of corn. There are also some thriving groves of lemon, pomegranate, and other fruit-trees near the town, but it is a bad place for obtaining general supplies. On the bank of the river, several diahbiehs and other boats were building and repairing.

Proceeding on our voyage, we ran quickly down to Manfalout, a short description of which place has already been given. Between it and Melawi, but on the opposite side of the river, a high precipitous cliff overhangs the stream for several miles. The entire range is pierced with excavations, most of which I visited, but found neither paintings nor

sculpture on the walls. It is probable that, originally excavated for abodes for the dead, they were converted into habitations for the living, at the time of the introduction of Christianity and the ascetic life into Egypt, and, perhaps, served, at a yet more recent date, as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the flat country, when it has been flooded by any unusual rise of the river.

Minieh was the next town that induced us to *bring to*, for the desire for a stroll through the refreshing groves by which it is sheltered was irresistible. It contains some fine buildings of recent construction, amongst others, a palace for the governor, barracks, cotton factories, &c.

The streets, though narrow, are clean, and the houses, excepting those on the outskirts of the town, are mostly built either of stone or baked bricks. The bazaars are inferior to those of Siout, but Minieh is decidedly the *best looking* town of Upper Egypt. It contains about ten thousand souls, exclusively of a pretty strong garrison. There, as at most

of the principal ports on the Nile, a show is made of a naval force—a kind of gun-boat being fixed immoveably in the mud abreast of the town.

On leaving Minieh, a northerly gale delayed us for several days ; for, with all our exertions and the stream in our favour, we could make no way against it.

We reached Boulak on the last day of the ninth week from the time of our leaving Old Cairo.

CHAPTER III.

Departure for Suez—The Ras el Wadi, or Wadi Toumlet—Traces of the Canal of the Ptolemies—Salt Lake — Disagreeable Pickle — Wells of Adjeroud — Suez — Fortifications — Population, &c. — Canal connecting the Red Sea with the Nile—Market of Suez — Climate—Anchorage—Trade—Difficult Navigation of the Gulf of Suez — Steam communication with India — Difficulty of Maintaining it at all Seasons — Advantages of the Line by the Red Sea over that by the Euphrates— Proposed Line by Kosseir — Passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites — Failure of all Attempts to disprove the Miracle—Land of Goshen—March of the Jews — Return to Cairo — Observations on the Line of the projected Rail-road.

BEING desirous of visiting the Ras el Wadi, a belt of land which has recently been brought into cultivation, that stretches some distance into the great desert of Suez (to which allusion has already been made), we lost no time, on our return to Cairo, in making the necessary arrangements for our journey, the season being already far advanced for travelling over burning sands.

I started on this excursion, contrary to the advice of all the *old Egyptians*, just as a dreaded Khampseen wind had set in ; and accompanied only by my relative C——, our servants, and two guides, all mounted on dromedaries.

We agreed, after visiting the Ras el Wadi, to proceed to the site of the ancient canal of the Ptolemies, thence to Suez, and return to Cairo by the route across the desert, which the Viceroy has selected for laying down a rail-road.

Taking, therefore, the great Syrian road, we passed through El Hankah ; and, diverging slightly to the left, to visit the College of Abouzabel, (of which an account will be found hereafter), regained that road a few miles before it reaches Zoameh. The day was so far spent, however, ere we left the interesting establishment at Abouzabel, that night overtook us before we reached that village.

Having a lively recollection of all the *désagréments* experienced at the Capo's house on my way to Cairo from Damietta, we deter-

mined to encamp for the night in a grove of date-trees, at the outskirts of Zoameh ; declining a guard of honour, which the Sheik volunteered to send to watch over our slumbers.

We struck our tent at daybreak, and rode to Belbeis to breakfast, where we were obliged to procure another guide, as we found that neither of the camel drivers that accompanied us was acquainted with the part of the desert we purposed traversing.

Remounting our dromedaries, and keeping a little to the right of the Syrian road on leaving Belbeis, we arrived, in about two hours and a half, at the commencement of the Ras el Wadi, or, as it is sometimes called, the Wadi Toumlet. It is a narrow valley, that stretches about eighteen miles east by north into the heart of the Great Desert, and must be that along which the Canal of the Ptolemies was carried to connect the Red Sea with the Nile. The bed of the valley is perfectly flat, and, perhaps, twenty feet below the level of the sandy desert that presses upon it on

both sides, contracting it to a width of about a mile.

It receives the annual fertilizing deposit brought down by the inundation of the Nile; and, what with embankments, reservoirs, and two small canals, that extend nearly its whole length, a sufficient quantity of water is retained to irrigate it throughout the year. Nevertheless, it is one of the few spots in Egypt where a want of agricultural labourers is clearly perceptible; for, with all this command of water, we found a great portion of the valley lying waste.

A vast quantity of mulberry-trees were planted here, some years since, by Mohammed Ali; and several colonies of Bedouins and Nubians were settled, and houses built, for propagating the silkworm; but the speculation failed — principally from the insalubrity of the place, caused by the constant exposure of the inhabitants to the exhalations from the pools of stagnant water and decayed vegetable matter. The villages are, for the most part, deserted, and the mulberry-trees have a

very unhealthy appearance. The chief produce of the valley is now corn, and the mud-hut villages of its cultivators are scattered thickly over it; but they are extremely wretched, and scarcely contain more than twenty or thirty families éach.

The principal village of the district is Tal el Kebeer, situated near the mouth of the valley, and indicated by a large white-washed edifice, that assumes a viceregal pre-eminence over a dense mass of mud cottages that are huddled together round about it. This house was the residence of Mohammed Ali, during his sojourn in the valley to superintend the laying out his mulberry plantations, and is now used as a silk dépôt.

The road keeps on the south side of the valley; and, on arriving opposite the last village, (El Mashamet), which is about thirteen miles from the entrance, we pitched our tent for the night, near a well of very good water.

All cultivation ends here, though the valley continues as marked a feature as ever for five miles further, the whole of which dis-

tance it is thickly covered with dwarf cypress, and other shrubs. A belt of the same kind of jungle continues to stretch in the direction of the Ras el Wadi, yet many miles into the sandy desert; but the valley may be said to terminate in a wide far-spreading hollow, some few feet below the level of the surrounding sand-hills.

Here all semblance of a road, or even beaten track, is lost; and our march became henceforth really "journeying across a desert," unmarked by a single bush or mound, that could serve to direct the course of any but the practised eye of a Bedouin.

At the expiration of five hours, we arrived at an artificial embankment, running for about a mile in a north-west direction. Along it we observed many fragments of pottery, and pieces of decomposed limestone and scorixæ. The ground falls slightly to the east, and bears evident traces of being occasionally covered with water, which can only be from rain: its surface presented, for some distance, quite a forest of dwarf cypress.

Turning now more to the south, we arrived in about an hour and a half at a low, flat expanse of sand, strewn with blocks and intersected with natural walls of crystallized *salt*, and having at a little distance all the appearance of the ruins of a large Arab town. After proceeding along it for some time, our attention was attracted by a shining, narrow line that intersected our path, resembling a bright scaly serpent winding through the sandy desert. We soon ascertained that it was water. Our guide seemed puzzled; and, as a high bank of crystallized salt edged the little stream on the opposite side, I went forward with "Arab Dick" to look out for a fordable place.

We had not advanced far on our *reconnoissance*, when our camels sank suddenly up to their girths, and we had to jump off their backs in great haste, to save ourselves from being pickled along with them in this salt bog—for such it proved to be—on the hard treacherous surface of which we had been traveling for some distance. It covers an area of

several hundreds of square miles, in the very heart of the desert.

Fortunately, we had left our baggage camels on a sound footing, for it required the exertions of the whole party to deliver the two struggling animals from their unpleasant situation. The great difficulty was to turn their heads round, as every plunge forward planted the huge, awkward beasts deeper and faster in the brine. They were much terrified, and trembled during the rest of the journey whenever they put their feet upon a treacherous piece of sand.

After heavy rains, large lakes are formed here by the torrents poured down from the ravines in the side of the mountain range that bounds the plain some miles to the south, but a stratum of *salt* must underlay the greater part of the desert of Suez, for, dig where you will, and to whatever depth, the water is always strongly impregnated with it.

We passed near and tasted the water of one large pond, which was quite as salt as that of the Red Sea, and clear as crystal. It is

evident, also, that, at some distant period, the sea has swept over this vast plain, as beds of marine shells, bleached by the sun of centuries, are scattered about on all sides.

About two hours after our *corning*, (to avoid a repetition of which, we took a yet more southerly direction), we reached the foot of the hills, and pitched our tent for the night in a ravine, sheltered from the Khampseen wind, which blew strong and *cold*.

We resumed our journey at sunrise, and, ascending the hills, after a four hours' scramble across them, reached the wells of Adjerroud, the precipitous cliff in which the lofty Gibel Ettagah terminates at the east, having served as a directing point, until we got sight of the wells. These being situated on a gentle rise, are seen several miles off. The fort of Adjerroud is left about two miles off on the right.

The water of the wells is quite undrinkable, excepting for camels. A gradual slope, of about two miles and a half in length, brought us to Suez.

Suez stands at the extremity of a low sandy

cape, that, jutting into the Red Sea, forms a kind of estuary of that part of it which is situated to the north of the town. On the land-side, it is enclosed by an old and badly flanked stone wall, in which there is but one gate to enter by.

With the exception of a rusty old iron gun, that, protruding its muzzle from a decomposed embrasure made to flank the gate, threatens destruction to all who might be bold enough to fire it, the pomp and circumstance of a fortified town are no where perceptible.

A lazy *authority* (whether civil or military puzzled us to divine) laid down his pipe to have an uninterrupted stare at us. His curiosity being satisfied, he threw himself back on his divan, without troubling himself or us with either question or salutation.

The town does not occupy one half the space enclosed by the walls, and, though apparently in a ruinous condition, is said to contain from twelve to sixteen thousand inhabitants — principally boatmen and fishermen. It is, perhaps, from their occupations calling them frequently from home, and the

great influx of Hadji bound to the Holy City, and other less devout travellers, that the fair skins and light hair of most of the rising generation are to be attributed.

The site of an old city (Arsinoë) is indicated by a heap of rubbish and broken pottery, a little distance to the north-east of Modern Suez; and the remains of a line of entrenchments, thrown up by the French during their occupation of Egypt, and somewhat more scientifically arranged than the works of the town, may yet be traced in advance of the walls.

The estuary stretches inland about two miles and a half from Suez, and, at its head, passes the road from Cairo to Tor and Mount Sinai, which strikes off from the Suez road before reaching the wells of Adjeroud.

The course of the canal that formerly connected the Red Sea with the Nile can be but imperfectly traced. It seems to have commenced at a point where the coast bends to the eastward, and where two brick ruins, running in a northerly direction for some dis-

tance, have very much the appearance of pier heads. It must have been carried through the low part of the desert—now a salt bog—and thence by the Ras el Wadi to Belbeis.

The present state of this desert tract would completely prevent such a communication between the two seas from being re-opened. The level of the Red Sea is thirty feet higher than that of the Mediterranean, and about eighteen lower than that of the Nile at Cairo.

The market at Suez is ill-supplied with provisions, fish being the only consumable article that is abundant. The water is so bad, that, for culinary purposes, the place is supplied from the fountains of Moses, situated on the opposite shore of the Red Sea.

The climate is said to be very temperate. Rain is nevertheless as infrequent here as in the rest of Egypt. In the months of January and February a few showers refresh the parching sands, but rarely at any other period of the year.

The place has been constantly visited by plague; and the cholera, in its devastating

tour, made a long sojourn at Suez, carrying off nearly half its inhabitants.

The anchorage is between two and three miles from the town, and, though good—as far as affording firm holding ground—is exposed to every wind that blows. Fortunately, the northerly gales, which are the most prevalent, are the least dangerous, being off shore. Several sandy reefs must be crossed to gain the anchorage, rendering the landing and shipment of goods both hazardous and tedious. The present trade of Suez is principally with Tor, Jedda, and the other ports of the Red Sea, and carried on in small bottoms that can get up to the town at high-water. The mariners are by no means bold, never going to sea when it blows hard, and seldom venturing far from the coast under any circumstances.

It is expected (though I much doubt it) that the contemplated rail-road to Cairo will draw to Suez a great part of the English trade with China and India. The establishment of a steam communication with Bombay

will certainly give an impetus to the commerce of the place ; but there are too many difficulties in the way ever to permit of its carrying on a flourishing trade by means of sailing vessels, for, besides the insecurity of the anchorage and the risk in landing goods, a northerly wind blows from Suez to Jedda, almost uninterruptedly from March to September, against which but few merchant vessels could make head, even with plenty of sea-room ; whereas, here they would be confined to a very narrow space, surrounded on all sides with dangerous coral reefs, and without a port on either coast to seek shelter in. At the straits of Jubal, indeed, the entrance to the Gulf of Suez is contracted by these reefs to the width of only a few miles.

The same obstacles, though presenting great difficulties, are not so insurmountable for steam navigation ; but, though the English government may find it worth while to incur the expense of keeping up such a mode of communication with our Eastern possessions, yet, as a *commercial speculation*, there is not,

at this moment, the slightest chance of its answering.

There is, however, a terrible obstacle in the way of keeping up a *constant* communication even by steam between Bombay and Suez ; an obstacle which, if not altogether insurmountable during several months of the year, will be found so hard to overcome as to render the intercourse, during that period, at all events, very uncertain. I allude to the south-west monsoon, which blows, from the month of May until the autumnal equinox, between the coast of Adel and that of India. Difficult as this obstinate wind would, under any circumstances, be to contend against, even with steam power, yet perseverance would eventually prevail, could fresh supplies of fuel be furnished to make good the consumption occasioned by such a contest. But that, in the present case, is out of the question.

From Bombay to Mucala (the nearest port where a supply of fuel could be deposited) is a distance of one thousand four hundred miles, and no steamer could possibly contrive to

carry a sufficient quantity of *coals* to make such a distance against a constant strong adverse wind. The remainder of the voyage could be accomplished without much difficulty, as between Mucala and Suez (a distance of one thousand six hundred miles) the ports of Mocha, Jedda, and Kosseir, successively present themselves, at any of which fuel could be procured, as occasion might require.

In one respect, and in one only, the projected communication with India by the Euphrates holds out an advantage over that by the Red Sea, namely, that steamers proceeding to the Persian Gulf, during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, would neither have to contend against that wind for such a distance, nor have it so directly opposed to them, the entrance of the Persian Gulf being only nine hundred miles from Bombay, and its bearing about E. N. E.

On entering the Euphrates, however, the difficulties of this line commence; and they are such as will have to be encountered at *all seasons*, and at every step, consisting of rocks, shallows, rapids, (rendering steaming by night

out of the question), scarcity of fuel, insecurity of the depôts from the hostility of the natives and wandering tribes, intolerable heat, insalubrity of climate, and, finally, a long land journey across a mountainous¹ country from Bir to Scandaroon. This journey may, at the present moment, (thanks to Mohammed Ali) be undertaken with confidence, but, if any change should take place in the government of Syria, might next year expose travellers to the tender mercies of the “*poor, oppressed*” inhabitants.

In comparing the two routes, therefore, though it be admitted that the voyage from Bombay to the Red Sea is impracticable for four months of the year—namely, from June till September—yet it is doubtful whether, during that same period, any Europeans could bear up against the intolerable heat of the Persian Gulf: and, for the remaining eight months of the year — even should the thousand obstacles that the navigation of the Euphrates now presents be eventually overcome—that route must, without dispute, cede

to the other, on the score both of *expedition* and *security*.

Regarding the two routes, in a military point of view—as lines of communication between Great Britain and her eastern possessions—that of the Euphrates would be thrown so forward towards the enemy's frontier, as to be exposed to be intercepted at the very commencement of hostilities ; whereas, the line by the Red Sea would be perfectly secure until the enemy had succeeded in obtaining possession of Lower Egypt. It is superfluous to observe, that the friendship of Egypt is necessary for the *security* of *either line*.

The navigation of the Gulf of Suez (as that portion of the Red Sea to the north of the Straits of Jubal is called) has already been noticed as attended with danger and difficulty as regards sailing vessels ; but a steamer, provided with a pilot and abundance of coals, would, by being able to steer a direct course, be comparatively free from risk.

Kosseir, whilst it offers a better anchorage, and more convenient landing-place than

Suez, is not so well calculated for the *terminus* of the voyage from Bombay, for though a railroad could be laid down to Kheneh, by which letters, goods, &c. might be conveyed to the Nile, within an hour of the same time as by that about to be established between Suez and Cairo, yet steam navigation on the Nile is open to one of the objections that present themselves on the Euphrates, namely, the difficulty of “progressing” at night; consequently, much more time would be occupied in getting from Kheneh to Cairo, than from Kosseir to Suez. Could this difficulty be overcome, (which, by establishing a series of floating lights on the river, I think it might be) Kosseir should be fixed on as the point of communication rather than Suez; since the most dangerous part of the Red Sea to navigate, as well as that over which the northerly winds are most prevalent, would thereby be avoided.

There does not appear to be any possibility of improving the port of Suez, or, I should rather say, any means of making one, for it

is a mere roadstead. The channels through the shoals that lie between the anchorage and the town, even at high tide, are very shallow ; whilst, at low water, they are practicable only for small boats ; and, with the least wind, such a surf is raised as to cut off all communication between the town and shipping.

It is the received opinion that the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites was effected at Suez ; and it has been maintained, that, without any miraculous interposition, such a host as Moses and Aaron led might have passed between the ebbing and flowing of the tide.

The objections to this hypothesis are numerous. In the first place, the breadth of the Red Sea at Suez is about three miles ; which space, at high water, is completely covered to the depth of upwards of six feet in the most shallow parts. At low tide, the greater part of this distance is laid dry ; but it is intersected by various channels, which are even then from four to five feet deep. Now, since “ The children of Israel went into the midst

of the sea upon the *dry ground*," it follows that, without a miracle, they could not have done so *here*.

We will suppose, however, that the Jewish leaders were learned enough to calculate their movements so as to take advantage of the period when the tides were at the flood (which is granting a great deal, since their departure depended on Pharaoh's permission being obtained)—and, further, that by "dry ground" is simply meant that the Israelites had not to swim for it; and that "the waters being as a wall to them on their right hand, and *on their left*," should be considered only as the customary hyperbole of Eastern language. Still, could a multitude of two millions of souls, encumbered with some thousands of camel loads of baggage, and numerous flocks and herds, pass along a *défilé** of the kind (*up to their waists in water*), in the short space of time allowed between the ebbing and flowing of

* A *défilé* it must in any case have been, for the Israelites were confined by deep water on the one side, and the host of the Egyptians on the other. Their *front* must necessarily, therefore, have been but small.

the tide? Any one, who has an idea of the time a *disciplined army* of one-tenth that amount would occupy in effecting such a passage, must say it would have been perfectly impossible.

That the passage was effected near Suez will, from the nature of the country, hardly admit of a doubt, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the situation of the land of Goshen. On this latter point, it appears to me that no discrepancy should exist, as the tract of country about Salehieh and San is clearly pointed out in the Scriptures as the land given to the Israelites;—"Marvellous things did he in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt, in the field of *Zoan*."

Again, it is to be inferred that Pharaoh allotted to the Israelites the land that was best calculated for their following the occupation to which they were at that time devoted—namely, the tending and breeding of cattle—and which was not of any great value to the natives, who were all agriculturists. Now, the tract of land along the right bank

of the pelusic branch of the Nile exactly answered these purposes ; the uncertainty of the inundation of the river rendered the *cultivation* of this part of the Delta very precarious ; whereas, the flocks and herds could be driven from one part to another, according as pasturage was to be found, having the desert to retire to whenever the flood was general.

Again, the locality of Goshen is established by another passage of Scripture ; for, when the time was come for the people of Israel to leave Egypt, “God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although *that was near*—lest, peradventure, the people repent when they see war and they return to Egypt ; but God led the people *about* through the way of the Red Sea.” This can apply only to the most eastern part of Egypt, because, from any part of the valley of the Nile, the wilderness of the Red Sea would be on the *direct* line to go either to Canaan, or Mount Sinai.

The whole march of the Israelites is evidently marked by the Divine hand, to impress

upon their stubborn hearts the conviction of His omnipotence. They might easily have been made victorious over the Philistines and over the Egyptians ; but they would have attributed their success rather to their superior prowess than to Divine interference in their favour. It was necessary, therefore, by a series of indisputable miracles, to convince them of their dependence upon a Divine ruler ; and the passage of the Red Sea was one chosen for that purpose.

When permission for the Israelites “to depart” was at length wrung from Pharaoh, it was not, however, to *leave Egypt*, but merely to go three days’ journey into the wilderness to offer sacrifices. Pharaoh, it is true, expressed himself in these words, “Get ye forth from amongst my people, and go serve the Lord, *as ye have said.*” Had they understood this to imply a permission to leave Egypt, (a favour that it does not appear Moses and Aaron *ever asked,*) their march would at once have been directed to the eastward. Such was not the case, as will be shown hereafter.

“ They journeyed from Rameses to Succoth,” and “ they took their journey from Succoth and encamped at Etham, *in the edge of the wilderness*—and the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel that they *turn* and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon, before it shall ye encamp by the sea.”

Now, Rameses was evidently another name given in those days to the land of Goshen,* and not to any particular city. Succoth (which we may suppose to be Salahieh) was the place appointed for the *assemblage* of the different tribes of Israelites—who could not possibly, previously to the permission for them to depart was granted, have been kept collected together on any one point—and there, ere Pharaoh’s suspicions of their ulterior designs could be verified, they stopped to bake their bread.

Resuming their march towards the wilderness, they reached Etham (El Khereen) situated

* See Genesis, chap. 47, v. 6 and 11.

on its edge. Thus far their route had been directed towards the nearest range of mountains, on the summit of which they had, doubtless, expressed a wish to offer up their sacrifices,* but now they received directions to *turn* towards the Red Sea, and henceforth they marched day and night to gain its northern extremity, ere Pharaoh could cut them off.

In this endeavour, it was intended they should be frustrated; for Pharaoh—who, it is evident, had all along suspected their intention was to fly from Egypt, and had kept his forces collected ready to pursue them—no sooner learnt “that the people *fled*,” than he marched towards the head of the Red Sea, calculating on coming up with the fugitives “entangled in the land, and shut in by the wilderness.”

Had not Pharaoh been deceived by the previous southerly direction of the march of the

* It may be taken for granted that the Jews wished to offer their sacrifices on high ground—otherwise, much less than a three days’ journey (which they constantly requested permission to make) would have carried them, *from any part* of Egypt, to a sufficiently secluded spot for their purpose.

Israelites, they would not have gained a day's march upon him; and he would naturally, on hearing of their flight, have pursued immediately and overtaken them in the *desert*, where no miracle so convincing as that which was contemplated could have been wrought, to render God's power evident to such a stubborn race as the Jews.

It was necessary, therefore, that Pharaoh's suspicions should be confirmed in time only to allow of his reaching the Red Sea before them. We may suppose he came up with them encamped about the wells of Adjeroud, having the Red Sea before them, and the rocky cliffs of Pi-hahiroth (Gibel Ettagah) hemming them in to the south. The Egyptian army, therefore, taking post for the night on the left flank of the Jewish encampment—between it and the head of the Gulf of Suez—seemed to cut them off from all chance of escape.

It is by many persons supposed that Old Cairo stands on or near the site of the *city of Rameses*, (from which two millions of souls

departed!!) and that Belbeis is the Succoth of Scripture. In that case, where is *Etham* ("on the edge of the wilderness") to be placed? Why should not the Israelites have *turned* at once from Succoth (or even before) towards the Red Sea? for, if they were departing out of the land of Egypt with full permission, then all deceit on their parts was unnecessary; and, by proceeding to Etham, they were going a day's journey out of their direct way, without any object in view.

If, on the other hand, they considered that they had merely Pharaoh's permission to go and sacrifice as they had often requested, and it therefore became an object with them to *deceive him* as to their ulterior intentions, still, they gained nothing by continuing their march a second day towards Pelusium, ere they turned towards the Red Sea—since Rameses (if Old Cairo) was as near Pihahiroth as Etham was, (supposing it to be on the *edge* of *any part* of the desert), and the road much better.

If the Israelites pretended to be merely

going to a sandy desert to offer up their sacrifices, their not striking at once off the direct road to Palestine would naturally have confirmed the suspicions of Pharaoh, instead of allaying them, as they could have no possible excuse for continuing their march for two entire days along the edge of a desert that was in every way suited to their purpose.

I think, therefore, it is evident that the land of Goshen was the north-eastern part of the Delta; and that all the attempts which have been made to account for the deliverance of the Jews from bondage, and the destruction of Pharaoh's host otherwise than by the means recorded in the Scriptures, are founded on the supposed occurrence of *natural phenomena*, equally as dependent as the miracle itself, on the will of an Almighty power; without, in the result, being attended with the same convincing proof of the Divine interference.

During our stay at Suez, we were most hospitably entertained by Kodsí Manoullí, his majesty's consular agent, whose judgment in old East India Madeira compensated for

his want of musical taste — a defect that has been before recorded of him. Some Mount Sinai wine, to which he treated us, we should have considered excellent under other circumstances; the admirers of the “fine, rough-flavoured” port, might even have preferred it to his old Cercial.

There are several roads from Suez to Cairo. That which is most usually taken passes by the Birket el Hadjee, as it offers the accommodation of *two* trees, upon which pilgrims on their route to the Holy City can hang their old garments; whereas, on none of the other roads is there more than *one* of these convenient old clothes'-pegs. I believe, also, that the two tree road affords more pasturage for their camels, if the long rank grass that grows scantily here and there can be so called. One road turns the Gibel Ettagah to the south, reaching the Nile at Old Cairo, and to this has most preposterously been given the name of “The Wandering of the Israelites.”

We returned to Cairo by the middle road, which is the best and shortest, and that by

which it is proposed to carry the rail-road. The ascent to the wells of Adjeroud is very gradual. From thence, the road keeps along the perpendicular face of the Gibel Ettagah, (distant about three miles), leaving the fort of Adjeroud (five miles from the wells) about a quarter of a mile off on the right. It encloses only a well, mosque, and a large storehouse belonging to the Viceroy, and occasionally—when the town of Suez is full—serves to lodge Hadjee bound to Mekka. In the year 1833-4, no less than ten thousand of these devout pilgrims bent their steps by this one route to the shrine of the prophet.

After passing Adjeroud, the road traverses a nearly flat and perfectly uninteresting country, presenting at times a surface of hard sand and pebbles, but generally exposing to view the bare lime and sandstone rocks. At the distance of sixteen miles from Suez, the road by the Birket el Hadjee turns off to the right—keeping on the northern side of the Gibel Aoûtah—a rocky range that stretches northward some little distance into the desert.

The direct road passes between this chain and the western roots of the Gibel Ettagah ; and, at thirty-seven miles from Suez, arrives at the tomb of some Mohammedan Santon, which is considered just half way between Suez and Cairo. Near it is a well two hundred and fifty feet deep, but no water. About three miles beyond the wall is *the* tree.

It is hung all over with the tattered garments of the Hadjee, which, in default of foliage, afford a shade for the weary traveller to repose under. The many-coloured canopy was not sufficiently attractive to induce us to accept its shelter — on the contrary, it had a plaguey look that made us give it a wide berth ; so, jogging on yet some miles further, we reached a low hill on the right of the road, under which we pitched our tent for the night.

The remainder of the road is perfectly uninteresting : it crosses several slight undulations, but none of sufficient importance to cause a rail-road to diverge from its direct course, for they may be cut down with the greatest ease. The rock is always close to

the surface, and in no part of the road is there any deep sand to contend against.

When arrived within five or six miles of Cairo, a dead level extends all the way to Boulak, upon which place a branch rail will doubtless be directed, as, for all useful purposes, the bank of the Nile is the point to be gained rather than Cairo.

The whole distance from Suez to Cairo is reckoned eighty one miles, (which is certainly the maximum), and took us eighteen hours and a half, dromedary riding, to accomplish. The only drawback to this line for a rail-road is the want of water, for, although there are several wells, yet not a drop of water is to be had between Cairo and Adjeroud.

It is not my intention to give my readers more "pencillings by the way:" suffice it to say, that when I next get under *weigh*, it will be by the vessel that conveyed me from Alexandria to Candia. In the meanwhile, I shall introduce a few chapters on the present state of affairs in Egypt.

CHAPTER IV.

Form of Government—Character of Mohammed Ali—Former State of the Country—Difficulties to Overcome in Effecting Improvements—Unwarrantable Abuse of Foreigners—Parallel of Mohammed Ali and Napoleon—System of Administration—Ameliorations Effected—Council of State—Faulty Position of the Viceroy of Egypt in his Intercourse with the Diplomatic Agents of the European Powers—Errors in his Foreign Policy—The Advantage of his Ceding Canada to Great Britain—Policy of England towards Mohammed Ali—Views of Russia—Necessity of Increasing the Power of Egypt to counteract them—Feebleness of Persia—Policy of Recognising the Independence of Egypt, and of Guaranteeing the Succession of Ibrahim Pasha to the Throne.

EGYPT, "*terre classique de l'Esclavage*," continues to be governed with the same despotic sway, as when under the dominion of the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Cæsars—the Khalifs, Mameluke Sultans, and Turkish Pashas. As the power of the last of this long list of tyrants diminished, on the *décadence* of the Turkish empire, the wretched inhe-

ritors of this hereditary oppression became subjected to a yet more intolerable yoke, and plunged yet deeper in the abyss of misery by exchanging the single despot for a multitude of tyrants—the power of the satrap appointed by the Sultan having been usurped by the lawless, self-elected Mameluke Beys.

This detestable race having—after a period of the utmost misery to the country—been at length got rid of, by an act as unjustifiable in principle as it was beneficial in consequences, the undivided power passed once more into the hands of the Sultan's lieutenant. But Mohammed Ali had not imbrued his hands in the blood of the Mamelukes, to deliver over the power of which he dispossessed them to the wily Sultan. He knew full well how unwillingly he was continued in the Pashalic of Egypt, and was quite aware of the snare that had been laid to deprive him of it.* He

* The Sultan (Mahmoud II.) was most desirous to remove Mohammed Ali from the Pashalic of Egypt; but, all his firmans having failed to produce his *head*, he thought, by ordering him to undertake the war against the Wahabees, his purpose might be effected. This, as a war of religion, he knew his *faithful* lieutenant could not refuse

most wisely resolved, therefore, to reap himself the benefit of his crime, by assuming, in all things but the name, the sovereign sway of the former rulers of Egypt.

In the commencement of his ambitious career, it can hardly be supposed that Mohammed Ali had any other views than those of his own personal aggrandizement in liberating Egypt from the yoke of the Porte; but, conscious that, in relieving the country from the oligarchical tyranny of the Mameluke Beys, he exposed himself to a danger yet more urgent than the hatred of the Sultan, namely, the envy of his Turkish subordinates; he saw the policy of calling forth the energies of the natives to shield him from the impending storm. Whilst, in effecting this, much good has been done to the country, so completely have its interests become identified

to engage in, and he trusted in his absence to stir up the Mamelukes—who were even more inimical to Mohammed Ali than to himself—to prevent his return, and receive a more compliant Pasha from his hands. Mohammed Ali had no excuse to plead for not marching against the Wahabees, but he rendered the Sultan's plan abortive, by murdering all the Mamelukes ere he set out on his expedition.

with those of its ruler, that to speak of the government, commerce, policy, &c., of Egypt, is to speak of the character of Mohammed Ali, who may most justly apply to himself the noted words of an equally despotic potentate—*l'Egypte "c'est moi."*

It may be as well, therefore, before proceeding further, to sketch an outline of the character of this extraordinary man. His early history and rapid advancement from a simple tax-gatherer to the three-tailed dignity of a pasha are too well known to require dilating upon; and, indeed, are events of such common occurrence in Turkish history, as to excite no surprise; but, that a Mohammedan should shake off his early prejudices, and take a lead in the march of *innovation*, is a phenomenon that calls forth general astonishment.

Possessed of great acuteness of perception, which enables him at a glance to see the drift and tendency of affairs—endued with tact and presence of mind to turn them to his advantage, and with a self-possession and

calmness that seldom can be shaken—inde-fatigable in business, and finding time to attend personally to every thing—courageous, generous, tolerant, and merciful,* Mohammed Ali wanted but education to have made him the greatest man that Islamism ever produced. But that want, unfortunately, obliges him to see with the eyes of other people, to hear through the polluting channel of a dragoman, to pick up knowledge, in fact, as he best can, from the herd of needy foreigners that surround him.

It is thus, that, led astray by vague notions of the wonderful powers of steam—its beneficial application to various purposes to save manual labour—of the extraordinary facilities afforded to commerce by the introduction of rail-roads, &c., he has been induced to engage in many ruinous undertakings, that have gained for him, with some, the character of a mere “*homme à projets*.”

But it should be recollected that he is an

* Merciful for a *Turk*—in whose breast the feeling of self-preservation is paramount to all others.

uneducated Turk, to whom all these things are new—that, thwarted in all his plans for the improvement of the country by his brother Osmanlees — assisted in them but little by the ignorant natives, and suspicious of the motives of his Frank advisers, (by whom he has so often been deceived) it requires more than human penetration — amongst the numerous schemes proposed for his adoption—to sift the chaff from the wheat, and obliges him to purchase experience at an enormous cost.

Thus much, therefore, must be admitted in his praise :—That, whilst many of his innovations have benefited the country very materially, other plans which have been laid for its improvement have failed, either through the ignorance or cupidity of the projectors, or been overturned by Mohammed Ali's own anxiety to push the march of intellect into a trot :—that, whilst invested with despotic power, he has governed the country with a justice and clemency unheard of in the Moham-
medan dominions, since the days of Haroun-el-

Raschid : that, the few acts of cruelty and oppression which he has occasionally been led to commit, have been forced upon him by the unceasing enmity of the Porte—and that the continuance of a system, which certainly presses hard upon the resources of the country, is an unavoidable consequence of the inexplicable policy of the great European Powers. Many of the evils, however, under the weight of which Egypt still groans, are the growth of ages—and by time only can they be eradicated.

If, in the prosecution of his ambitious projects, Mohammed Ali had plunged Egypt in greater misery than she formerly suffered, then, indeed, with justice, might be applied the opprobrious epithets that have so profusely been lavished upon him ; but what, let me ask his detractors, could possibly be worse than the condition of the native Egyptian, under the satraps of the Sultan, or the Mameluke Beys ?—each bent on extracting the utmost amount of treasure from the land, in the least possible time.

In the more remote ages, the state of the Egyptian peasant was probably somewhat better: for then, though the agriculturist was, perhaps, as much the property of the upper classes (the priesthood and military) as the ground he was employed to till, yet, estates being *hereditary* in the different classes, the proprietors of the land were interested in the well-being of their dependents.

But, from the period of the Persian conquest, the natives of Egypt have toiled only for the benefit of strangers, who had but a passing interest in the country. Their embracing the religions of their various conquerors served them nought; they remained mere slaves, whose bonds every succeeding set of masters tightened: and when, at last, Egypt fell a prey to the Turks, under the ferocious Selim, those masters being themselves barbarians, the degradation of its inhabitants could go no further. From that period they have been worse treated, and considered of less value than the ox or buffalo they were condemned to goad.

Mohammed Ali found, therefore, the native Egyptians sunk in the lowest depth of misery and degradation—a race of beings human only in form and the faculty of speech. Hence, to judge of the correctness of the abuse that has been heaped upon him, we must compare their present state with their condition at that period, when an obvious improvement is apparent—bearing in mind, at the same time, that, even amongst civilized nations, there is no short cut, no royal road, to secure their well-being. Whilst the path of the Egyptian Viceroy appeared to be strewn with almost insuperable difficulties, the progress that has been made towards this desirable end has been wonderfully great, for not only had Mohammed Ali to remove the overwhelming mass of religious prejudices that weighed down the Egyptian nation, and to break through the barrier of ignorance that blinded it to its state of degradation, but he had to overcome the opposition of all those powerful chieftains, whose interest it was to keep their vassal Fellahs in this debased and

ignorant condition, and to brave the authority of the Vicegerent of the Prophet.

In the execution of this dangerous and delicate enterprise, he exhibited a rare combination of boldness, foresight, and perseverance—liberating himself successively from the vassalage of the Sultan, the control of the Mameluke Beys, the baneful influence of the Turkish local authorities, and the rule of his insubordinate Albanian soldiery ; playing off one against another with the most consummate ability, until he had rid himself of all, and called into existence a power which he hopes to be able to control and hand over as an inheritance to his successor.

How far this latter part of his plan may succeed, it is not easy to divine ; but, if his system be persevered in but for a few more years—whether his dynasty govern Egypt or not—the country will be for ever freed from the dominion of the Turks. Thus, therefore, if Mohammed Ali has acted solely in furtherance of his own designs, in producing this change, and if the Egyptian people have for

the present changed only an oligarchical tyranny for that of a despot—still, to that despot are they indebted for the chance he has afforded them of eventually liberating themselves from the oppression of foreigners.

But, though it is not probable they will ever again submit to be tyrannized over by others—having tasted, if not of the sweets of *liberty*, at all events of those of *power*—yet, if too soon deprived of the firm hand which now rules them, civil dissensions may arise nearly equally detrimental to civilization. Fortunate will it be for them, therefore, if they continue some years longer subjected to the despotism of their present ruler—a despotism that consists in compelling an ignorant, debased, but by no means incapable people, to work out its own liberation. Still, the impulse only has been given; much remains yet to be done, which time only can accomplish; for it would be unreasonable to expect that a country governed, as for ages Egypt has been, could at once start into civilization.

Those Europeans, therefore—who, after vi-

siting Egypt, return home and criticize the present state of things in that country, because it is not what, according to their theoretical notions, it ought to be—surely do not sufficiently consider the difficulties that were to be encountered. Arriving with preconceived ideas of the *regeneration* of the country, and of the despotic power to do good of its quasi-civilized ruler, they see every thing through a medium of disappointment, and throw all the blame of what—according to their scheme—is wanting on Mohammed Ali.

One complains of his not cultivating more land. He orders a canal to be excavated, and another instantly raises an outcry at his *compelling* the “starving Fellah” to work at it: quite forgetting—or not being aware—that they are not to be hired, like the starving peasantry of some other countries. Another finds fault with him for his monopoly of corn, without remembering that famine has constantly resulted from a free trade in Egypt.

Others, again—who incline to the fabulous,—lend their willing ears to all the stories of

the banishment of foreign merchants, drowning of prime ministers, &c. &c. tales, which—though they serve very well to fill up a dull letter—are, perhaps, yet more destitute of foundation than the “Arabian Nights’ Entertainments; but are abundantly fabricated by the tribes of Greeks, Levantines, and Armenians, who—perceiving that their hitherto indispensable intervention in all affairs is no longer needed: that the peculations and impositions by which they lived can no longer be practised with impunity—endeavour, in every possible way, to cry down the system of Mohammed Ali.

The Franks who have been discharged from the Viceroy’s service, either from their exorbitant demands, or their proved incapacity, join in the clamour. Those who, overrating their abilities or services, consider themselves ill ‘rewarded or neglected, pronounce Mohammed Ali to be “an ungrateful old monster;” whilst by others, whose swindling schemes he has seen through, he is called “a cunning old fox.”

His parasites, on the other hand, would fain persuade him that he is a second Napoleon ; and, in some respects indeed, he may, without flattery, be compared to that wonderful man. Like him, he has had the courage to grasp a sceptre, that threatened to wither the hand that touched it—like him, he has had the talent to unite, under his despotic sway, men whose opinions and characters were as opposite as day and night—like the French Emperor, he has improved his dominions by numerous useful institutions and public works—has rewarded munificently those who served him faithfully. He drains the resources of his conquered provinces, to pay the immense standing army that is necessary to hold his empire together—he oppresses his subjects with a heavy conscription, to fill the ranks of that army : and here the Egyptian despot loses much in the comparison in the opinion of his subjects, who consider the word “glory” a poor *backschis*, for the sacrifices they are obliged to submit to, to obtain it.

Mohammed Ali has victories also to boast

of, though not of the same stupendous kind as those of the French conqueror. The massacre of the Mamelukes may be considered *his* Jaffa, but the cold-blooded murder of the innocent Duc d'Enghien remains without a parallel. Mohammed Ali is not cruel without necessity : his parting words to Ibrahim, on his proceeding to the Morea, do him infinite honour : — “ May God give you the victory, my son ; and, if He give it to you, may He grant you the virtue of clemency ! Be an enemy with your enemies, but with the weak be merciful ! ”

Conscious of the precariousness of his position, the government of Mohammed Ali has, from the very commencement of his career, been founded on a system of balance. Thus, to shelter himself from the anger of the Porte, his first care was to gain over the Turkish officers, his immediate subordinates : his next, to compromise them with the Sultan ; and, by giving them a share of his hatred, to bind them to his own interest.

To establish himself yet more firmly in his

rule, and to enable him to dispense with the support of his Osmanlee adherents, his next step was to gain the affections of the native inhabitants of the country ; and in this he has succeeded, by introducing milder laws, distributing justice with an impartial hand, relieving them of the numerous petty exactions of his subordinates in authority, and promoting them to situations of trust and emolument.

Amongst the many benefits for which the natives are indebted to Mohammed Ali, by these changes in the institutions of the country, that of the abolition of the punishment of death by impaling,* or by any other barbarous means, deserves particular notice : as, also, the stop that has been put to the wholesale butcheries that were formerly arbitrarily committed by the Governors of Provinces, and other petty authorities : the Viceroy having reserved to himself alone the power of disposing of his subjects' lives.† Of

* Excepting in extreme cases.

† The power of inflicting death, without a reference to the Vice-

this privilege, however, he avails himself but seldom—so unwilling, indeed, is he to be the judge, even in trifling matters, where he is a party concerned, that for offences, however slight, committed in his own household, the culprits are handed over for trial to the usual authorities. A remarkable instance of this occurred during my stay at Cairo.

To shelter himself from the odium that some of his measures might excite amongst the people, as well as to keep open the breach that has been effected between the Sultan and his Turkish adherents, Mohammed Ali has called to his assistance a council, consisting of some thirty or forty of the principal officers of State and Ministers, to whose consideration all the acts of his Government are submitted, ere they are promulgated. The sittings of this Council are constant; but its functions are deliberative only: for no act originates with it—nor is it permitted to dis-

roy, still remains in the hands of the Governors of Provinces, in certain cases, where immediate punishment is considered necessary—such, for instance, as open resistance to the laws, &c.

cuss the merits of any other matters, than those submitted for its opinion and advice.

Each member gives his opinion separately and in writing—but the Council, being composed entirely of the dependents of the Viceroy, who are nominated by him, and removable at his pleasure, it cannot be supposed that it is in the habit of thwarting his views. Indeed, the French Chambers, under Napoleon *in prosperity*, were hardly more compliant.

The Council of Mohammed Ali possesses, however, this advantage over those of his great prototype; namely, that whilst it screens him from unpopularity at home, it involves many in the responsibility of his foreign policy—which, where it militates against the interest of the Porte, is very important. Thus, the late war with Turkey was not undertaken (although there can be no doubt it was fully determined on,) until the policy of the measure had been submitted to, and approved of by this complaisant assembly of *grandees*—and it consequently became very popular.

For the better administration of justice, and to facilitate the collection of the revenues and imposts, the country has been divided into provinces, and these, again, into departments ; and proper officers have been appointed to perform these several duties, by which means the Fellahs are in a great degree relieved from the petty exactions to which they were formerly subject.

The governors of provinces are nearly all Turks ; but amongst the Mamours (or chiefs of districts) are now to be found many Arabs, and the Sheiks or heads of villages are invariably chosen from amongst the natives. All these appointments, as well as those of Cadees, Nazirs, &c., are made by the Viceroy ; but, strange to say, a Cadeeliskier, or Chief Judge, is still sent periodically—as heretofore—from Constantinople ; although in the more important concerns of the country—its commerce, foreign relations, &c—the interference of the Porte is totally disregarded, excepting where policy obliges Mohammed Ali to shelter himself from responsibility. This he is some-

times driven to do, from the embarrassing demands of the European Powers; for, though the Council of State is an admirable shield against the Firmans of the impotent Sultan, yet it affords no protection against the *protocols* directed against his commercial system, from all parts of Europe.

A great disadvantage that the Viceroy of Egypt labours under in this respect is his being placed in personal contact with the Ministers accredited to him by the European Powers. In conversation, promises are exacted on the spur of the moment, which a moment's reflection shows the impolicy of his having made. Mohammed Ali is in this way constantly engaged in a struggle between the sacredness of his word, and the expediency of keeping it.

From this embarrassing position, nothing but the appointment of an Effendi for Foreign Affairs can possibly relieve him. This useful medium would, in the first place, afford him the means of returning an evasive answer to any unconscionable demand, (which as an

absolute sovereign he cannot give ;) and, in the next, would allow time for the matter to be viewed in all its bearings, and for feeling the pulses of any other European Powers that might be affected by the measure. Finally, it would furnish him with a scape-goat on which to throw the blame, when driven to the last extremity. A Potentate, who admits a Foreign Minister to the conviviality of a Chibook, does not stand the same chance in diplomacy, as the Sovereign who is hedged round by chamberlains, lords in waiting, gentlemen ushers, and aides-de-camp.

In his foreign policy, as in many acts of his home administration, Mohammed Ali has been led astray from his true interest by the needy sycophants about him. Persuaded that the wealth and greatness of England are derived from her numerous manufactories and powerful navy—the political consequence and strength of France and Russia, from the size and discipline of their armies—he has been induced to establish factories and arsenals, build a large fleet, and raise an immense

body of troops, with the idea of exciting the respect of those powers. Though these establishments were certainly called for, and have been eminently useful in promoting the political regeneration of Egypt, and insuring its internal tranquillity, yet they have totally failed in effecting the purpose for which they were set on foot, whilst the scale on which they have been instituted was far too great for the necessities, and the expense of maintaining them is totally disproportioned to the resources, of the country.

The navy of Egypt is, for the purposes of either defence or aggression, perfectly useless. To nations which, like England and France, carry on an extensive trade to all parts of the world under their own flags, a state navy is essentially necessary; but Egypt has no merchant vessels of her own to protect, nor will she possess any, whilst the present monopolizing system is continued. When she has capitalists and merchants of her own, then, and not before, will she possess a mercantile navy; and then it will be time for

the country to have vessels of war for its protection.

On the other hand, the Navy of Egypt is not powerful enough to cope with the fleets of the great European powers, and is not required to defend her shores from the attacks of any others. It is true, without it, the Sultan—should he feel inclined to try the hazards of another war, to regain his lost Asiatic provinces—and should the European powers permit him—might *declare* the blockade of the Egyptian ports. But, it would be merely a *declaration*—for the nature of the coast, from Alexandria to Scandaroon, is such as to prevent a *Turkish* fleet from carrying a blockade into effect; whilst an attack on his Syrian frontier would quickly bring the Sultan to terms, or occasion the recall of the Turkish fleet to the sea of Marmora, for the defence of Constantinople.

Candia is the only part of Mohammed Ali's dominions, for the protection of which a fleet could be required; and its possession is not worth retaining, at the cost of his present

navy, much less at that of a war with any European power. A few frigates would defend it from the Greeks, as well as—perhaps better than—a fleet of line-of-battle ships. From the Turks, an attack on their own dominions would, as before stated, at all times relieve it; whilst the jealousy of Great Britain may quiet his apprehensions of having it to protect from any other European power.

Mohammed Ali would, indeed, act wisely in giving up this, to him, unprofitable possession; by which, not only would he save the great expense attendant on its maintenance, but remove all cause for collision with the Greeks, with whom it is so clearly his interest to be on good terms, not only from their being the great consumers of the produce of Egypt—and its principal carriers—but from their friendship being of the utmost consequence to him, in the event of a rupture with the Porte.

The Sultan would, I have no doubt, most willingly make over Candia to the Greeks, but, as such a transfer would not be permit-

ted, he ought to make the best bargain he can for it with Great Britain*—the power, of all others, whose friendship it is of the greatest importance to him to cultivate, since her enmity could at any time effect his ruin; for, it is a truth that cannot be too strongly impressed upon his mind, that, whilst it would be extremely difficult for any power whatever to attack Egypt, without the consent of England—so long as she maintains her maritime superiority—so, on the other hand, she can, at any time, and in spite of the whole of Europe, effect his downfall. A simple blockade of the Egyptian ports would do this, without firing a shot or landing a soldier—whilst an army of thirty thousand men would effect the conquest of the country.

At the same time, however, that it is the obvious policy of Mohammed Ali to court the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, we must not lose sight of the advantage that it also is to England to maintain the indepen-

* Of the value of this possession to Great Britain, I have offered some remarks in treating more particularly of that island.

dence of Egypt: for, chimerical as I cannot but consider the fears of a Russian invasion of India, at the present day—where, supposing all the difficulties to be encountered on the march to have been overcome, and the Tartar hordes to have reached the frontiers of Hindostan, they will be met by soldiers fully equal to themselves in discipline and courage, and superior in numbers—yet, there is no foreseeing what changes the course of a few years may bring about.

That the ultimate views of Russia are directed towards India, I am not by any means inclined to dispute; and, as she would, without doubt, endeavour to possess herself of Egypt, before carrying her ultimate plans into execution (since it would be madness to push an army to the southward of the Caucasian range, leaving a *powerful* nation, like modern Egypt, under the control of England, on its flank), it becomes the policy of Great Britain to prepare beforehand to meet this aggression, against the execution of which no insuperable objections present themselves.

Turkey no longer offers a barrier against the designs of Russia. The loss of her fortresses was the unavoidable consequence of the destruction of her fleet; and thus, by the influence of one "untoward event," was the Ottoman empire laid crouching at the feet of her persevering and implacable foe. "Not a hundred English line-of-battle ships on the Euxine would now affect the march of a Russian army on Constantinople."* The attempt of Turkey to resume her station amongst the European powers, by re-modelling her army on their plan, is but a fruitless waste of money. She possesses not, within herself, the materials required for the accomplishment of such an undertaking. Her crafty enemy, well aware of this, encourages her in the vain attempt, which helps to drain her resources, and watches but the favourable moment to effect the long-meditated plan of effacing Turkey from the map of Europe.

Great Britain, having thus suffered the first and great outwork that secured her Indian

* Slade's Turkey.

possessions to be razed to the ground, must, necessarily, erect some other barrier for their protection, and Egypt presents herself as that best suited to the purpose. Whilst, therefore, it is the policy of England to strengthen the new power that has started into existence in every possible way, it is, on the other hand, the interest of Russia to keep Egypt in its present half-dependent state;—not exactly subject to the Porte, because Turkey would be thereby strengthened—and Turkey is permitted to drag out its existence yet a few years longer — and not altogether independently of the Porte, because the power of Egypt would be thereby doubled, and, consequently, the better prepared to resist the ulterior ambitious projects of Russia.

The policy of Great Britain (whatever may be its intention) tends rather, I fear, to assist Russia in her designs, and—for the sake of retaining some paltry commercial advantages—to keep Egypt in a state of dependence upon the Sultan. The outcry that has been raised at the iniquity of assisting Mohammed

Ali against his liege lord (so *consistent* in a people that, in the same breath, advocates the independence of Poland) is too absurd to be listened to.

Has not England been the abettor—if not the prime mover—of most of the revolts and rebellions that have distracted both hemispheres during the last quarter of a century, whenever it was her *interest* to be so? Has she been deterred by any such fine chivalric feeling as she is called upon to display in the case of Egypt and Turkey, from acknowledging the independence of the Brazils, of Mexico, Columbia, Greece, Belgium, &c.? And is she to be prevented, by a senseless clamour, from interfering in the case of *two perfectly distinct people*—connected by no one bond of common interest or affection—in whose separation no ties of family are torn asunder, no one class of men ruined to enrich another, no misery inflicted on the liberated people beyond the onerous war-taxes necessarily imposed upon it, to meet the expenses of the immense establishments

kept up to secure its independence?—evils for which Egypt is indebted to the vacillating policy of the great European powers, (but, above all, that of England) in not frankly recognising the independence of Mohammed Ali.

Our delaying this act of justice to the Egyptian people is so completely playing the game of Russia, that, in the event of the present Viceroy's death, and a determination on the part of the Sultan to resist the succession of his son Ibrahim, it will afford that power an excellent pretext for interfering openly in reducing revolted Egypt to subjection. May not, indeed, the secret treaty that binds Turkey hand and foot to Russia contain some provision of the sort?

Russia, since the days of Catherine II., has been constantly persevering in an insidious scheme of aggrandizement. At the conclusion of each succeeding war, she has invariably, either under the pretence of protection, or as an absolute conquest, added some portion of her adversary's territory to her dominions;

thereby furnishing herself, in the former case, with a never-failing pretext for engaging in another war; in the latter, with the means of re-commencing hostilities with increased advantage.

All this has been effected in so subtile a manner, with so many declarations of good faith and such professions of moderation, as to allay the fears of the other European powers; which, however sensible of the advantages obtained by Russia to their eventual prejudice, still scarcely thought each fresh aggression of sufficient consequence in itself, to dispute at the cost of a general war. Thus, without being absolutely duped by the protestations of Russia, the southern powers of Europe have quietly shut their eyes to her ulterior designs.

In the mean time, that power has neglected no opportunity of improving and augmenting her navy, which now rides in undisputed possession of the Black Sea, ready to favour her operations against Egypt, Persia, or, perchance, India; and what power will be able

to prevent her armies penetrating to the south, when the time for carrying her ambitious projects into execution arrives?

We shall turn our eyes, perhaps, to Austria in this emergency; but what interest has that power in preserving India to England? or in checking the growth of Russia, provided she, herself, gains strength in a like ratio? Does not one glance at the map of modern Europe show what the interest of Austria *will be*, if not what her intentions now are? Her territories, stretching along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, whilst they shelter the attack of the Russians on Constantinople, place her in a position to seize on her portion of the spoil, whenever—throwing off the mask—these two ambitious powers determine on dividing the Ottoman dominions between them. The impotent kingdom of Greece will offer no resistance. Great Britain, from her outports—Corfu and Zante—will have the satisfaction of witnessing a catastrophe, which her distance deprives her of the possibility of averting: and France will, in all probability, be other-

wise occupied. Indeed, no very urgent reason can be advanced, why France may not be tempted to join in the crusade—"L'Expédition de l'Égypte n'y est pas oubliée" has been stated by a recent writer ; and may she not be actuated by a "morbid desire" of aggrandizement, as well as Russia? Has her conduct, of late years, been such as to warrant our coming to a different conclusion?

It behoves Great Britain, therefore, to leave no means untried of averting the impending danger ; and, though the subjugation of Turkey in Europe appears inevitable, to endeavour to render that calamity as little disastrous as possible, by taking up a position herself, and forming fresh combinations amongst the Asiatic nations, for driving back the Kalmucs to their native steppes, should they attempt to penetrate yet further to the south.

To do this, a new power must be called into existence in Asia Minor, and every support given to the tottering empire of the Shah. The possession of the Island of Candia becomes also imperatively necessary, to

enable Great Britain to watch the operations of the enemy, and serve her as a rendezvous for an army, which, thus centrically situated, could threaten so vast an extent of coast. The power that must be called into existence is clearly Egypt ; for, though that country itself is far distant from the seat of war, yet its frontier possessions have wisely been advanced to meet the coming danger : so that, whilst her armies will be at hand to move forward on the first alarm, her inexhaustible resources will remain in perfect security ; and, under the protection of an English fleet, can be forwarded quickly to the scene of operations.

But England ought not to rest satisfied here. It is her policy to increase the power of Egypt by every possible means, and not only to acknowledge but to guarantee her independence, and even ensure the succession to the throne to the present dynasty. Her frontiers should be extended until they reach the Tigris on the side of Persia, and come in contact with Russia to the North : so that any

further encroachments on the part of that power would at once occasion a rupture. In fact, to meet Russia with a chance of success, the order for the first cossack to cross the Balkan should be the signal for Ibrahim to advance on Scutari and Trebizonde; for the English fleet to take possession of Smyrna and the castles on the southern bank of the Dardanelles; and for the transfer of Candia to the protection of Great Britain.

Persia, far too feeble to contend single-handed against Russia, and cut off by her position from receiving any effectual assistance from Great Britain, might, nevertheless, by the help of such an ally as Egypt *would then become*, be able to resist any further encroachments upon her territory.

The aggrandizement of Russia, at the expense of Persia, has, of late years, been rapid indeed; but far more detrimental to the interests of England have been the insidious *intrigues* of that Northern Power at the Court of Tehraun, than even the success of her arms in the field. The influence of Russia is already

nearly equal to that of Great Britain; and should a Prince ever be placed by her means upon the throne of Persia, our preponderance will cease altogether, and the invasion of India need no longer be regarded as so Quixotic an enterprise as it appears to be at the present day; for the base of operations for such an enterprise might then be considered as advanced to Esterabad; between which place and Astrakhan, the undisputed possession of the Caspian Sea, and the use of steamers, would render the transmission of troops and supplies both certain and immediate.

It is, therefore, only by threatening the last named place that such a plan could be thwarted; and, from the Egyptian territories (if advanced to the shores of the Bosphorus and Euphrates) this might be done: whereas, if they continue, as at present, to be confined to the narrow strip of coast at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, it would be impossible to undertake an operation of the kind, leaving Persia on the right flank.

The course of the Tigris, or Euphrates, (even should Persia, by conquest or alliance, become a party in the war on the side of Russia) can never be taken as a line of operations for attacking India; for, besides the natural difficulties that present themselves by that route, and its being a diverging line, it is one which, by leading towards the shores of the Persian gulf, would be liable to be cut off, by a force despatched from England. It would be still further objectionable, from its being exposed to attack from Egypt: and this again shows the advantage it would be to Great Britain, to strengthen that power, and attach her to our interest; as, by her means, we should at all times have it in our power to attack Persia, and so bind the Shah to us by fear, when other means fail; and the Egyptian army is even now more than a match for the disunited and undisciplined Persians.*

* The total population of Persia is eight millions of souls, two millions of which, perhaps, are Nomads. Indeed, the entire population is divided into independent tribes, having different habits and

Turning now to other considerations, that urge Great Britain to adopt a friendly line of policy towards Egypt, besides the preservation of her eastern empire, it must be evident to every one, that the great change which has been wrought in the state of Egypt must produce a corresponding one in her commercial relations with other countries. The greater the advance of Egypt towards civilization, the greater will be the amount of her produce—the more numerous her wants; and here again it becomes the policy of Great Britain to be early in the field to counteract the intrigues of other powers, particularly of France, our principal competitor for commercial advantages.

The advocates of the system of free trade will say—only let the ports of Egypt be thrown

interests, and presenting but slight means of resistance to an invader. The regular army amounts only to about twenty thousand men—cavalry, infantry, and artillery; but the troops that might be brought into the field, in any *popular* war, would amount probably to three hundred thousand, two-thirds of which would be cavalry. But such an army is little to be depended upon—the annual revenue which reaches the Shah's treasury being under two millions sterling—far too small a sum to pay so large an army.

open to all nations alike, and England will be sure to have the advantage; doggedly maintaining that in no case can we stand in need of commercial favour.

When, however, we see the artful manner in which France is using every means to monopolize the supply of Egypt—when we consider the advantages she derives from situation—and the preference she claims as the principal consumer of Egyptian produce, we must indeed be wedded to a theory, to which practice is so diametrically opposed. It behoves Great Britain, therefore, on this score also to unite herself firmly with Egypt by the tie of *reciprocal interest*; and the advantages we have to offer, are—security to her commerce—and release from foreign control.

Any attempt to attain our end by *bullying* Mohammed Ali would be the acmè of impolicy. If he ceded to our demands through necessity, he would be our pretended friend and concealed enemy. If he resisted them, though *he* would inevitably succumb, Russia

would be the only party benefited by his fall. Let Great Britain, therefore, throw off the mantle of hypocrisy, and bind Egypt to her by gratitude as well as mutual advantage. That the tie may be lasting, and the benefits conferred on the country greater than those which would be produced by a mere acknowledgment of her integrity, let a spur be given to her industry by insuring her against falling into the hands of a Turkish oligarchy, equally as baneful to the prosperity of the nation as the tyranny of the Mameluke Beys ; and this can only be effected by guaranteeing the succession of Ibrahim Pasha to the throne of his father.

CHAPTER V.

Character of Ibrahim Pasha—His Conduct in Syria—In the Morea —Popularity of Mohammed Ali — Grievances of his Subjects — Difficulties he has to contend against — Wasteful Expenditure of Money on the Wild Schemes of Foreign Adventurers — Project to throw a Dam across the Nile—Railroads—Concluding Remarks upon the system of Government.

TRAVELLERS do not differ more in their measurements of the base of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh than in that of the intellect of Mohammed Ali's son. Indeed, whether Ibrahim be really his son, or merely the child of his adoption, is even matter of dispute. I incline to the former opinion ; but it signifies very little whether such be the case or not, provided he is acknowledged to be so by Mohammed Ali, and has sufficient talent to follow in his *soi-disant* father's footsteps.

This last point, as before observed, is that whereon accounts most differ.

Judging from Ibrahim Pasha's actions, he cannot be denied the possession of the qualities of courage in the field and tact in the cabinet; whilst, by the encouragement he gives to agriculture, the protection he affords to foreigners, and the establishment of numerous schools and colonies at his own expense, it may be presumed he is desirous of promoting the welfare of the country over which he looks forward to rule.

In his manner, he is lively and impetuous, but affable and communicative, with a slight disposition to sarcasm.* In person, he is short and thick set.

A great deal of virtuous indignation has of

* At an inspection of the French army sent to the Morea, in 1827, Ibrahim Pasha, pointing to some particularly ill-conditioned and badly clothed regiments, asked Marshal Maison what troops they were: "They are some that have just arrived from Spain," replied the French Generalissimo, "and have not yet had an opportunity of receiving new appointments." "What!" exclaimed the Turk, with well feigned astonishment, "do you employ the same troops to give liberty to the Greeks that have been making slaves of the Spaniards?"

late been expressed at the extortions and atrocities of Ibrahim Pasha in Syria: but what do all his acts of tyranny amount to? The levying taxes on a turbulent population which had been accustomed from time immemorial to beard all authority with impunity—in raising an army by conscription amongst a set of lawless bandits that had lived by rapine and plunder, and relieving the peaceable portion of the inhabitants from their exactions—in allowing the Franks to remain undisturbed with their hats on their heads, and their heads on their shoulders—the putting on the one having but a few years since been deemed quite sufficient excuse for taking off the other. In fact, if the whole population of Palestine had been cut off by “one fell swoop” of the despotic sword of the “ferocious Ibrahim”—great as would have been the loss of human life, it would have been a gain to civilization.

The war in the Morea was certainly carried on in the most barbarous manner, but in this species of warfare the Greeks have the honour

of the initiative—and to Ibrahim's credit be it stated that, on his troops carrying the fortress of Anatólico by assault—when even by the European code of martial law the garrison might have been put to the sword,—he granted the Greeks their lives, merely disarming the men and sending them with their wives and families to Arta. Ibrahim is beloved by his own troops and feared by those of the enemy—and if he does occasionally—as report says—take something stronger than sherbat, Alexander the Great and other heroes have done so before him. He is not, however, so generally liked as his father.

That Mohammed Ali is popular in Egypt cannot, I should think, be questioned by any one who has seen him ride almost unattended through the streets of Cairo, dense with a fanatic population. To all my inquiries on this point—and I questioned persons of all ranks and of every nation—the answers were invariably in his favour. Each, it is true, had some one grievance to complain of, that bore particularly hard on himself individually.

The Levantine, whilst he praised Mohammed Ali's justice and liberality generally, complained of the laws affecting commerce. The Jew, though he admired the Viceroy's tolerance, disliked his system of monopolies. The Arab peasant complained only of the conscription ; and his sole regret, after becoming a soldier, is that his new calling obliges him to leave his native land. The Turk alone finds no one thing to praise, and fear only checks him from uttering his abuse of the whole system of Mohammed Ali's government.

That there are faults in it cannot be denied ; but the seeds of many of the evils that retard the prosperity of the country — evils that are equally detrimental to the interest of Mohammed Ali and of Egypt — are too deeply sown to admit of being removed but by a cautious system of weeding — avoiding the rooting them out with a rash hand, lest the good seed that has already shot up might run the risk of being also destroyed.

The great evil that weighs down the coun-

try — pressing particularly on the springs of industry — is the necessity which obliges Mohammed Ali to constitute himself the sole proprietor of the soil ; but who else could, in the present condition of Egypt, possess it with greater advantage ? If the country were parcelled out in grants to the different grandees of his court, they, being all Turks, would regain the influence of which it has (most wisely) been his constant aim to deprive them. The Arab Sheiks of the old school are not sufficiently enlightened to be trusted, whilst those natives, who have been fitted by education for such charges, are not old enough to have the requisite influence with the people, (whose hereditary respect for grey beards is unabated), and they are, besides, wanted for other purposes. If the lands were divided amongst the people themselves, each Fellah would cultivate merely the quantity of ground sufficient to afford him subsistence.

Mohammed Ali sees the necessity of creating a class of hereditary landed proprietors, who would have an interest—beyond that of

the moment—in the improvements of the country and the condition of its inhabitants—a class whose well being would be dependent upon that of his government, and which could be relied upon to rally round him in resisting any attempt of the Turks to resume their blighting supremacy. But where are the materials for forming this class to be found? He has commenced, as an experiment, by granting lands to several Europeans; but the Mohammedan law obliges them to hold their estates in the names of natives of the country, which, in a great degree, defeats his object. He has also bestowed lands on some few of his Moslim adherents, but they enjoy only a life interest in them; whereas it is a body of *hereditary* landed proprietors that is called for.

It is the want of this substantial class that in like manner has forced Mohammed Ali to burthen himself with the various monopolies for which he is so generally abused, and to become the sole merchant of the country; but where are the capitalists in Egypt that could embark in manufacturing or mercantile

speculations? The natives and Turkish inhabitants are out of the question. The Greeks, Copts, and Egyptian Jews, are too pettifogging in their dealings to engage in commercial transactions on a large scale, whilst the Franks resident in the country are not wealthy enough to do so, even if they were sufficiently trustworthy; respectable European merchants would hardly be found willing to hazard their capital in the enterprises of a government, which, whilst its independence remains unacknowledged, can offer no guarantee for the fulfilment of its engagements. The existence of Egypt as a nation depends entirely upon that of its present ruler. His death might either plunge the country into civil war, or engage it in a ruinous contest with Turkey and Russia.

The greatest fault with which the administration of Mohammed Ali can be charged is the outlay of large sums of money (obtained by an onerous taxation) upon the wild experiments of the Viceroy's Frank advisers. These needy adventurers — mostly refugees from

France, Spain, Piedmont, and Naples — with the word honour on their lips, and a bit of ribbon at their button-holes, have no other object in view than to cut out work that will put them in a way of making fortunes at his expense, in as short a time as possible.

It is thus, that even the *useful* public works, the execution of which has been entrusted to their direction, have all been hurried on, for the sake of being done *quickly* rather than with a view to their being done *well*. The canals, bridges, factories, forts, &c., all partake of this radical defect. The Egyptian ships of war are said to be falling to pieces from the same cause. Much as this system of roguery is to be regretted, the wasteful expenditure of money on wild speculations, that can — in the present state of Egypt—tend to no possible good, is yet more seriously to be deplored. That steam-power, railroads, &c., are of infinite service in a country that is already in an advanced state of civilization, and in which they can be used *cheaply*, will not admit of dispute; and it is to

be hoped that the day is not far distant when Egypt will be in a fit state to receive benefit from their introduction ; but at present, the cheap rate at which human labour is obtained there — the facility of water carriage in that level and intersected country — the bulky nature of the commodities it produces — the expense attendant on the purchase of foreign machinery, and on its repairs — the want of fuel, and want of science, cause them to be applied to the purposes of commerce and manufactures at a dead loss.

All Mohammed Ali's *bubbles* sink, however, into insignificance, when compared to his project to dam the Nile. This notable enterprise has been undertaken at the suggestion of the sect of St. Simonians resident at Cairo, and the " Père enfantin " has been pleased to extend his fatherly care towards it, as chief engineer and *treasurer*, assisted in his labours by a Monsieur Lelan—an *élève* of the Polytechnic School at Paris. The spot selected for the stupendous work is a few miles below the bifurcation of the Rosetta and Damietta

branches of the river, and its object is to raise the water to the height of ten feet above its usual level at low Nile, so as to form a head of water, from which every part of the Delta can be irrigated at all seasons of the year.

The work, as originally projected, was feasible, though sufficiently daring to have made even a Brunel pause before undertaking it: but the enormous expense that would have been occasioned for timber fit for piles to make a foundation has caused that part of the plan to be abandoned, and the dam is to be formed altogether of stones, and to rest on the sandy substratum of the Delta! None of the stones which I saw collected for the work exceeded four feet in length, and the whole business looks so like a job, as almost to make one doubt the sincerity of the cosmopolitan father's profession, that he acts solely "*pour l'amour de la famille universelle des hommes.*"

It is proposed to have bridges across the two branches of the river, and an intermediate one over the canal, which must necessarily be

made, to convey the irrigating stream into the Delta. The two principal bridges will be about five miles apart, the whole of which distance must be banked, to resist the constant pressure of this immense head of water. Should this work ever be brought to a happy conclusion—which, without professing a knowledge of *hydromancy*, I will venture to predict *it will not* — the consequences inevitably must be, that the whole system of canals, dykes, and sluices of the Delta, will have to undergo an alteration; and its inhabitants will be constantly exposed to the risk of being themselves, and (what will then be of minor importance), having their cattle, fields, date groves, and habitations, swept away ; either by the river's forcing the dam, or by its making itself another channel.

In a commercial point of view, this barrage of the Nile is objectionable, by presenting a fresh impediment to the navigation of the stream between Cairo and the sea-ports ; on military grounds, by affording terrible facilities to an enemy for laying waste the

country. The first of these objections it is proposed to remove—as far as the trade with Alexandria is affected — by making a canal along the left bank of the Rosetta branch of the river, to communicate between the reservoir, and the existing Mahmoudieh Canal.

The schemes for railroads (for any *present* use they will be of) are yet more absurd than this great experiment in hydraulics. That which is about to be laid down between Cairo and Suez may hereafter be a profitable concern, but at this moment it occasions a useless outlay of money, that might be much more beneficially employed.

To Egypt, this rail communication offers no advantages at all likely to compensate for the immense expense incurred in its construction ; for the trade between Egypt and Arabia is very trifling, and, whilst the scheme of steaming on the Euphrates occupies the attention of the British government, our intercourse with India by this much shorter route is neglected, which may eventually cause

Mohammed Ali to abandon his expensive enterprise.

He has already (most wisely) given up the projected line of railroad from Cairo across the desert to Alexandria, and indeed the only railway that has yet been *completed* in this country is one from the quarries of the Mokattan Hill to Boulak, a distance of but a few miles. This has been laid down at the urgent request of the "*Père enfantin*," to facilitate the transport of building stone for the completion of his benign undertaking of deluging the Delta.

In conclusion, I may say of the government of Egypt, that it is efficient without being tyrannical, which is sufficiently proved by the small amount of crime. Murders and highway robberies are unheard of, and more thefts are committed amongst the Frank population of Alexandria, than in the whole of the rest of the country.

The local authorities experience but little difficulty in enforcing obedience to the laws; but when, as sometimes will happen, a contu-

macious resistance to the conscription manifests itself, the troops are called upon to aid in bringing the refractory Fellahs to order. This is generally effected without bloodshed, and without exposing the soldiers to a shower of abuse and brickbats, until some aged Sheik has been found, who can and will read a riot firman. Neither is the Bim bashee, or other officer in command, deterred from, or delayed in, doing his duty when called upon, by having to consider how the Cadee General's opinion bears upon the case, and whether he may not be bastinadoed for doing what he is taught to consider the first duty of a *Mussulman*—obeying his orders.

That a despotism is the only form of government suited to Egypt in its present condition is very evident, and fortunate is the country (since it must have a Mohammedan ruler) in having such a despot as Mohammed Ali to govern it.

Of the difficulties he has had to contend against, few except those who have visited Egypt can form an idea ; but they are in part

so accurately described by Machiavelli in *Il Principe*, that I cannot refrain from quoting the passage.

“E debbesi considerare come non é cosa più difficile à trattare nè più dubbia á riuscire, nè più pericolosa á maneggiare, che farsi Capo ad introdurre nuovi ordini. Perchè l'introduttore ha per nemici tutti coloro che degli ordini vecchi fanno bene ; e tepidi defensori tutti quelli che degli ordini nuovi farebbono bene : la qual tepidezza nasce parte per paura degli avversari, che hanno le leggi in beneficio loro, parte della incredulità degli uomini, i quali non credeno in verità una cosa nuova, sennon ne veggono nata esperienza ferma.”

CHAPTER VI.

Revenues of Egypt—Taxes—Expenditure—Government Monopolies—Necessity of retaining many of them, in the present state of the Country—Agricultural System—Extent of Land susceptible of Cultivation—Productions of Egypt—State of her Commercial Relations with other Countries—Imports and Exports—Amount of Population — Different nations composing it — State of the Fellahs as compared with the Peasantry of other Countries—Paupers—Good effects resulting from the Establishment of Manufactories—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants—Education of the Lower Orders—Arts and Sciences—Music—Gradual Improvement in the Condition of the Inhabitants—Anecdote of the March of Mind, and of the drag upon it—Smoking.

THE revenue of Egypt is calculated, in the years of “a good Nile,” to amount to twenty millions of dollars ; (four and a half millions sterling, nearly ;) but at other times it does not exceed fifteen millions. This is exclusive of Syria and Candia, both of which are at present sources rather of expense than profit to the Egyptian treasury ; the former, how-

ever, in the course of a few years, will probably become a source of revenue—the latter never.

The principal sources from which the revenue of Egypt is derived, are the Miri, or land-tax (more properly ground rent), which amounts to about a million and a half sterling; the Capitation tax, calculated at half a million, and the customs and excise at three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The rest of the gross amount is made up by the farming out of fisheries, monopolies,* and various minor taxes; amongst which, one on jugglers, dancing women, and courtesans, amounts annually to thirty thousand pounds.

This statement is taken from an official return of the state of the revenues of Egypt in the year 1830, when they amounted only to three millions, six hundred thousand pounds. Another official document gives the principal expenses of the government during the same year, in round numbers, as follows: the

* Under this head must be classed the sale of the *produce* of the country, which almost all belongs to, and, until lately, was sold exclusively by the Government.

army, one million and a quarter, sterling; navy, five hundred thousand pounds; arsenals, manufactories, and public works, five hundred thousand pounds; civil administration, secret service, and gratuities, eight hundred thousand pounds; Envoys, and presents to Constantinople, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; the Viceroy's household, seventy-five thousand pounds.

The revenues of Egypt that reached the Sultan's coffers, under the Mameluke Beys, amounted only to two millions and a half sterling, but that sum was increased to four millions, when the country was again brought under the more immediate dominion of the Porte. Considering, therefore, the new sources of revenue that have been opened to Egypt under Mohammed Ali, by the cultivation of the cotton plant, olive, and mulberry trees, &c., and the increased facilities afforded to its agriculture by the excavation of canals, and the improved system of irrigation, a corresponding increase of revenue ought to have followed, had the inhabitants continued

subject to the same rate of taxation as under former administrations. It appears, however, that, with all these increased means, the amount of revenue raised from the country continues much the same as formerly.

The revenues of Egypt might be very considerably augmented in various ways, but I am sceptical as to the expediency of abandoning altogether the manufactories, monopolies, &c., and opening the trade; for, as I have already attempted to show, the possession of manufactories is called for by the uncertainty of Mohammed Ali's foreign relations, and the government monopoly on the export of corn, to save the country from famine: whilst the want of, landed proprietors and capitalists obliges the Viceroy to constitute himself the farmer general and sole merchant of Egypt.

I doubt, therefore, whether, under all circumstances, Mohammed Ali's monopolizing system be not the best that could be adopted, until knowledge, and with it confidence, can be imparted to the inhabitants of the country.

It is *security* that, above all things, is wanting ; for, besides that agricultural pursuits cannot be followed without considerable funds, (which none of the inhabitants of Egypt possess,) it is security alone that stimulates industry, and renders labour productive ; without it, though the Arab Fellah should possess the treasures of Haroun-el-Raschid, he would not venture to make use of them to improve his land.

It has been observed by a talented writer on political economy, “ that all men are by nature disposed to idleness ; [an axiom that applies peculiarly to the ignorant inhabitant of *fertile* Egypt] and this disposition is a great obstacle to the pursuit of agriculture, which requires a considerable degree of foresight and knowledge, and a firm reliance on the security of property to labour at one season, in order to reap the fruits at another. The minds of men should be freed from the degrading fetters of ignorance, before they can reap advantage from personal emancipation. In all cases, we shall find that *gradual* and progressive improvement is conducive to the

happiness of mankind, whilst sudden and violent revolutions are always attended with danger."

Ignorant, indolent, and distrustful, as the inhabitants of Egypt are, I doubt, therefore, whether the fellah would labour with more zeal and activity if the ground he tilled were his own. At this moment, being quite destitute of property of any sort, he is a mere "mechanical engine," working, it is true, for his own subsistence, but principally for the benefit of those who will follow.

Mohammed Ali is, nevertheless, modifying his system, according as he sees his subjects acquire knowledge and throw off their prejudices: and is gradually giving up his monopolies, beginning with those which bear most heavily on the fellah population. Amongst that number, may be enumerated those on the sale (not export) of corn and barley—of oil, fowls, eggs, and other articles of produce; on the spinning of flax and manufacture of mats; and, doubtless, he will proceed in liberating the inhabitants from other vexa-

tious restrictions, when he perceives that it may be done without detriment to the finances of the country, and without the risk of eventually proving injurious to their own interest.

The collection of the revenues is still, in a great degree, entrusted to the Copts—the only persons who are at present sufficiently learned in financial matters to undertake so complicated an affair. The Nazeers are mere land-stewards of the Viceroy, who collect his rents and see that the lands are cultivated according to his directions ; he having, as before stated, made himself the proprietor of almost the whole of Egypt. The estates possessed by various mosques have, however, in most cases, been respected, and small patches of ground round the villages are appropriated to the growth of vegetables, &c., for the inhabitants, amongst whom the rest of the land is allotted for cultivation, in portions varying in extent according to their own desire, which, of course, depends upon the strength of their families ; but they have not the option of refusing to cultivate any, nor of choosing the

kind of produce, that is prescribed by the Nazeer, who furnishes the seed and takes the Viceroy's proportion of the crop. The residue used formerly to be taken also, and paid for at a price fixed by the Nazeer; but the cultivator is now allowed to seek a market for what remains for himself, after the lion's share has been taken—a change which has been of infinite benefit to the peasant, but has occasioned a sad falling off in the receipts of the Nazeer, who generally—between his absent employer, the Viceroy, and the trembling peasant—made a very profitable business.* Out of the profits made on the sale of

• It has been so often asserted as at length to have become firmly believed by most Europeans, that, in levying the taxes, &c., it is part of Mohammed Ali's system to make those who possess the means pay the contributions of such of the inhabitants of the same district as from idleness or misfortune cannot. A proceeding so calculated to nip industry in the very bud, and, at the same time, so extremely unjust, struck me as being most improbable, and induced me to make particular inquiries on the subject. A gentleman, high in the Viceroy's confidence, to whom I applied, said, that he also had often heard the same assertion; that such a circumstance *might have* occurred, but he could say from his own experience (and he held lands under the Viceroy) that it was not the *general practice*. He had an opportunity very shortly after our conversation of putting the case to Mohammed Ali himself, stating that such

his share of the crop, the peasant has to pay the annual rent of the ground. This, in the lower part of the Delta, is about thirty piastres per feydan ; near Cairo, sixty ; and in Upper Egypt, about seventy ; but everywhere subject, of course, to considerable variation, according to the distance of the land from a market, from the banks of the river or of a navigable canal, the quality of the soil, and the means of irrigation.

This last named is the principal source of expenditure to the cultivator, and that of all others which most calls for improvement. The Persian wheel is still considered the *ne*

was the general belief in Europe. The Viceroy in reply said, that such malpractices had certainly taken place formerly, and he brought to his interrogator's recollection an instance where the governor of a district had been displaced for such abuses—adding, if, therefore, they are yet continued, it is not only without my knowledge, but at the risk of my most severe displeasure. This merely goes to prove, perhaps, that, with the best intentions, Mohammed Ali's plans for the amelioration of the country are defective, from their depending too much on himself. He cannot be every where ; and where he is not, he is likely to be cheated, and his subjects oppressed. Such has been the system for ages. It is a kind of prerogative that the government officers of Egypt have enjoyed, and a tyranny that the natives have been obliged to submit to, from time immemorial.

plus ultra of watering machines by the Arabs, but in Egypt it is of the rudest description. The water is brought up in leather buckets, made fast to a rope, which admits of being lengthened at pleasure so as to reach the level of the Nile at all seasons. When the river is low, it hangs down far below the wheel, describing an oval figure, the bottom part of which—owing to its distance from the wheel—is propelled with but slight force into the water, and the buckets consequently bring up but a scanty supply. A water-wheel, turned by an ox, supplies as copious a stream as three couple of men with baskets, and waters seven feydans* of ground. The average crop of corn is four ardebs per feydan. The price of labour in Upper Egypt is twenty paras a day.

The quantity of land *susceptible* of cultivation in Egypt may be computed at about four million five hundred thousand feydans, but not more than three-fourths of that quantity

* The feydan is a measure nearly equal to one and a quarter acre English.

can be reached, so as to be rendered productive, by the present means of irrigation.

The chief productions of Egypt, of the vegetable kind, are cotton, hemp, flax, indigo, sugar, rice, corn, barley, millet, peas and beans, clover, tobacco, and dates. Vast tracts of land have been planted, in various parts of the country, with olive and mulberry trees. The former thrive in an extraordinary way, producing fruit in the third year. This valuable acquisition has been gained from Candia, (where, however, it takes five years to bear fruit) and Egyptian oil will, ere long, enter the European market with great advantage. Rose-water is produced in the Fayoum. The silk of Egypt is on the decline: principally, I should think, from the ill-chosen spots for the plantations of mulberry trees. The mineral productions of Egypt are emeralds, copper, silver, and other metals (the mines of which do not appear to have been worked since the days of the Romans); salt, nitre, soda, sal-ammoniac, &c.

Besides the above articles of produce, which

Egypt exports to a vast amount, may be enumerated buffalo, ox, and goat skins.

A number of very valuable articles pass through Egypt, in search of a market, from Nubia and Arabia, such as gums, spices, drugs, ivory, and coffee.

The principal consumer of Egyptian produce (after Turkey) has hitherto been Austria, which took, some years since, nearly twice as much as England; Austria, in return, sent more than double the amount of goods supplied by England; but the trade with that power is on the decline, in consequence of Syria now furnishing Egypt with timber, which, formerly, was almost all procured from Dalmatia. In the rank of consumers, England takes the next place, followed very closely by France and Tuscany. In supply, this last named nation takes precedence of both France and England, and nearly furnishes goods to an equal amount with Austria.

In the year 1831, the exports of Egypt amounted to £1,650,000; the imports, to £1,568,000. Of this, raw cotton was exported

to the amount of £620,000 ; and manufactured cotton imported to the value of £325,000. But, since the above period, an enormous increase has taken place in the production of cotton. In 1835, (before the breaking out of the plague) the cotton crop was valued at one and a half million sterling.

The principal articles procured from Austria are timber, copper, iron, manufactured cottons, cloth, glass, and hardwares ; from Tuscany, manufactured cottons, silk and woollen goods, iron, and straw plait. England supplies iron, cutlery, coals, manufactured cottons, and warlike stores ; and France, cloth, silk goods, sugar, lead, and wine. Egypt supplies Turkey with *every thing*, but since the cession of the province of Adana, takes hardly a single one thing in exchange. Her trade with Greece is also nearly all for money. Amongst the numerous articles furnished to these two powers, the principal one is rice.

A census of the population of any Moham-
medan country is, from the sacredness of the
hareems, very difficult to be obtained with any

degree of correctness, even by the government itself, and renders it the less surprising that the population of Egypt should have been so differently estimated by foreigners. For my own part, judging from the quantity of land under cultivation, the number of hands that must necessarily be required to till it, the great waste of human labour in Egypt, and the thick-set way in which the towns and villages are strewed over its surface; and comparing it, in these respects, with other countries, I do not hesitate to pronounce the population to amount to at least three and a quarter millions of souls.

The population of Egypt, under the first Ptolemies, is stated to have amounted to three millions; and, considering the sanguinary contests that had been carried on between the Egyptians and Persians, during nearly the whole of the two centuries preceding the Macedonian invasion, it is probable that at that period it did not amount to more. On the other hand it is not by any means likely that the population ever much

exceeded the number at which I now estimate it, notwithstanding that the ancient writers affirm it amounted to seven millions; for the mountains that hem in the Nile are the same that always existed—and, though the sand that has drifted from them may have contracted the width of the valley in a slight degree, yet large tracts (according to the accounts of these same writers) have, in the interim, been gained from the sea, to counter-balance this loss of cultivated land, above and on the skirts of the Delta. Calculating, therefore, the superficial contents of Egypt (*i.e.* of the land that is susceptible of cultivation) to have been then as it now is—*six thousand eight hundred* square miles*—a population

• In making this calculation, I suppose the *cultivable* land of the Delta to form an isosceles triangle; of which the base is one hundred and twenty miles long, and perpendicular height sixty-five miles. The valley of the Nile, from the apex of the Delta to Assouan, I consider a rectangle, five hundred miles in length, and five in breadth; and that the Fayoum contains four hundred square miles—thus, therefore, $3900 + 2500 + 400 = 6800$.

These are geographical miles—and it must be borne in mind, that, although the *valley* of the Nile considerably exceeds five miles in width, yet, that the extent of cultivation is seldom so much

of seven millions would have given upwards of *one thousand souls* to every square mile—an hypothesis that is quite unreasonable. We read, moreover, in Scripture, that Pharaoh said—"Behold the people of the children of Israel are *more* and mightier than we." Now, since the people of Israel, that left Egypt with Moses, amounted only—on the most liberal calculation—to two millions of souls; it would make the entire population of Egypt, at that time (including the Jews), under four millions: and it cannot be supposed that its population was ever greater than during the sojourn of the Israelites.

It is generally imagined that the population of Egypt has been on the decrease for the last few years, although the official returns give a different result; and, certainly, the large army maintained, and the exterminating wars the country has been engaged in—occasioning a constant drain upon its

—sometimes, indeed, it is not half a mile wide. It is also to be recollected, that, although the *Nile* winds very much in its course, yet the *valley* does not.

youth—cannot but be against the increase of population ; yet, on the other hand, various causes, that periodically swept off the population by thousands, have been removed or very much diminished in their effects. Famine, for instance, has been felt but once, during a long period (on which occasion Mohammed Ali had thrown open the corn-trade), and the country has, by the adoption of sanitary precautions, been relieved, to a very great degree, from the ravages of the plague. The habits of the people, also, are daily improving ; they are becoming more cleanly, both in their persons and food ; and their prejudices are giving way to the virtues of medicine and wine. To their previous filth, wretched fare, and contempt for medicine, are to be attributed the havoc caused by ophthalmia, small-pox, typhus fevers, and other endemic disorders, which now do comparatively but little injury.

Sickness, I should say, prevails to a very small extent amongst the adult portion of the Arab population of Egypt. Numbers

have hitherto perished, at a very early age, from the absolute ignorance of the science of medicine ; for, those of weak constitutions fell, without resistance, before the successive diseases by which mankind is attacked in infancy ; and, consequently, such only as were naturally robust reached maturity, and have continued healthy in after-life ; and, though many of these bear evidence of the ravages made by ophthalmia, yet the plague and old age are the only enemies they have now to encounter.

The population of Egypt is made up of a medley of almost all the nations of the East. The Arabs (fellahs and Bedouins) constitute about twelve-thirteenths of the total amount ; that is, nearly three millions of souls. The Copts are the next most numerous body. They are the mongrel descendants of the various people that in turn conquered Egypt, and with whose *décadence* they have kept pace ; possessing, at this day, a rare mixture of the rapacity of the Greek, the depravity of the Roman, and effeminacy of the Persian.

The Copts, at the period of the Saracenic invasion, were the proprietors of the soil and the principal merchants of Egypt: in the dark ages that followed, though stripped of their possessions, their smattering of learning gave them considerable influence in the administration; to all the minor posts of which they were admitted.

They are, yet, distinguished by the generic term, “writers;” but their numbers, as well as influence, is very much reduced; for, at the present day, they cannot be estimated at more than one hundred and fifty thousand souls. They profess Christianity; but, as a writer on Egypt has most justly observed—“All that bears the name of Christianity, in Egypt, is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian church.”

The Turks, Albanians, &c. — the last conquerors of Egypt — have in their turn been much reduced in number by the events of the last few years. They continue, however, to hold the first rank in the land, filling most of the principal military posts, and may still be

estimated at ten thousand. The Ethiopians, on the other hand, have increased considerably in numbers, and may be calculated at fifteen thousand souls. They are the most daring soldiers of the Egyptian army, but neither so tractable nor so enduring as the native fellah. It appears contradictory—but such nevertheless is asserted to be the case—that, whilst Nostalgia has nearly cleared the ranks of the Egyptian army of these tropical people, they have been found to succeed remarkably well in colonies.

The Levantines—under which term may be classed Syrians, Armenians, and Greeks—amount to about thirty thousand: they employ themselves principally in trade—as interpreters, &c. The Georgians, Circassians, and other female and neuter inmates of the hareems, may be calculated at twenty-five thousand; the Franks at six thousand, and Jews at twenty thousand.

The character of the native Egyptian, or fellah, has already been given in treating of the Delta, where certainly the best specimen

of the genus is to be met with. In ascending the Nile, he descends in the scale of humanity—gradually changing in colour, features, and make, until at length all trace of Arab blood is lost. The change in his moral qualities keeping pace with that of his physical, the condition of the inhabitant of the Saïde is naturally much worse than that of the fellah of the Delta. Throughout Egypt, the state of the lower orders is, according to our notion, very wretched; although, comparing their condition with that of the corresponding class in some countries that can boast of a much greater degree of civilization, and a more liberal form of government, I do not see that the “starving fellah” of Egypt is more entitled to pity than the European pauper, who begs his bread from door to door; nor that the government of Mohammed Ali is deserving of abuse, whilst that of the Swiss Cantons is lauded to the skies. We see daily the persons of the lower orders of many European nations clothed in rags, and swarming with disgusting vermin: a sight which, whilst it makes

a Frenchman or an Englishman shudder, merely produces a shrug of the shoulders from a Neapolitan or a Portuguese. The Arab finds his mud habitation, his bare feet, coarse bread, and fried beans, neither disagreeable nor unpalatable; and, rather than work harder to procure more comforts, he would be contented to live on in the same miserable way to the last day of his existence. So likewise the Neapolitan or Portuguese rests perfectly satisfied with the scanty pittance that will produce him his daily allowance of maccaroni or baccalao; and submits to the irritating poll-tax levied on his indolence, rather than work a little harder to earn the price of better food and a hair-comb.

The Arabs are all beggars, but this arises not from their being all in want, but from their being all covetous, and not deterred by a feeling of shame from asking for anything they think you are possessed of—particularly if, by your looks, they imagine their demand is likely to be complied with. This applies to the whole Arab race, from the go-

vernor of a province to the common field-labourer.

The food of the fellah is coarse, and his mode of eating as well as cooking it is disgusting to persons of cleanly habits, which occasions his being charged with the vice of gluttony; but it is the manner of eating rather than the quantity he eats that has given rise to this accusation. He has his meals as regularly three times a day as any field-labourer in Christendom, but place the Arab's simple and quickly despatched meal by the side of an English peasant's solid fare, and it sinks into insignificance. All the Arab race are addicted to the use of the pipe, and to this pernicious habit may be traced the origin of most of their vices, and a great portion of their misery.

The Fellah's clothing, in the winter season, is quite sufficient for the mild climate in which he lives, whilst, in summer, any more than what decency requires would be irksome to work under. His habitation is certainly as good as the cabin of the Irish peasant—with-

out taking the difference of climate into the comparison — of furnishing it, he has no notion—a mattress stuffed with cotton or wool, a wooden bowl to contain the meal of the family circle, and an earthen jug for its beverage of milk or Nile water, are all the necessaries he possesses: a carpet and divan, a low circular metal table, and coffee cups, are luxuries to be met with only in the dwelling of a Sheik el belled.

The lower orders of the population of Egypt are not encouraged by any faulty system of poor laws, to give way to habits of extravagance, improvidence, and profligacy. Mendicity is permitted, and consequently seen, in all its disgusting nakedness, unconcealed by the cloaks of poor-houses, penitentiaries, and houses of correction. The Turks, as well as the wealthy Arabs, are extremely charitable, and the Mosques also relieve an immense number of those whom actual misfortune has driven to seek a subsistence in the streets. At Cairo, one Mosque alone supports eight thousand blind.

The establishment of factories in Egypt, if it has done no other good, has considerably alleviated the condition of the lower orders, by giving employment to many, (children as well as adults) who formerly depended on a precarious agriculture for their subsistence; for it not unfrequently happened, in times past, that the able-bodied population of a whole district—by the failure of the Nile to fertilize their grounds—could not find employment, and required relief as much as those who were incapacitated from working by sickness, old age, or bodily infirmities. To such, relief could be afforded but in two ways, either gratuitously, or in exchange for labour.

In almost any other country than Egypt, the evil resulting from the uncertainty in the cultivation of their fields could not be so much felt by the inhabitants; and if it were experienced, they would seek, and be sure to find, employment elsewhere; so that the price of labour only would be effected by it, and that *generally*, and, therefore, in but a slight degree: now, in Egypt—besides that the inhabitants

are mere serfs, to whom the land is portioned out for cultivation, and who receive a tithe on the produce in payment of their work—such a mode of equalizing and lowering the price of labour could not be brought into practice, even if it were understood ; for the ground would not receive any after-benefit by the additional number of cultivators employed upon it ; the crop produced would not be increased by their assistance ; and, as the quantity that would feed ten labourers would not satisfy twelve, the loss would fall entirely upon the landholder. Therefore, though the establishment of manufactories, &c. has thrown large tracts of land *permanently* out of cultivation, by giving employment to the hands that formerly *occasionally* tilled them, yet, until machinery supersedes human labour, no injury will have been thereby done to the peasant. On the contrary, he has been relieved from the risk of starvation, attendant on this periodical dearth ; and spared the misery of witnessing the sufferings of his family, struggling against the various endemic diseases generated by it.

By the time machinery can be worked in Egypt, so as to produce goods at a cheaper rate than by manual labour, (which must be the case as knowledge spreads, and the price of human labour increases), then it may be expected that improved means of irrigation will also have been adopted, to enable the Fellah to return—with a certainty of gaining his livelihood—to his original and destined occupation.

The Arabs, though permitted by their religion to have four wives, seldom possess more than two, and, indeed, (as they must be in “comfortable circumstances” to support even that number,) most of them are obliged—like hapless Christians—to be content with one. A very small stock of worldly goods enables them, however, to make a settlement—the moderate sum of three hundred piastres being considered quite sufficient to set up an establishment. Concubines are maintained only by the rich.

The inmates of the hareems describe their lives as being very happy, and, deprived as

they are of all education, they possibly may not find their confinement very irksome. Their acquirements amount to a knowledge of the arts of embroidery, confectionary, and shampooing; to which some few add the accomplishments of music, dancing, and smoking. They make themselves as captivating as possible, by tinging their nails and fingers with hennah, and colouring the insides of their eye-lids with a dark *powder*, which they doubtless suppose makes their eyes *shoot stronger*. They are extremely vain of showing their wardrobes, and curious to examine the costume of the Frank ladies, who are occasionally permitted to visit them. Of course, the monotony of their lives is broken by numerous little bickerings and jealousies, and not unfrequently by amatory intrigues. The wives of the fellahs are not subjected to the restraint of the hareem; they work in the fields with their lords and masters; and, when *they* are near, hide their faces very scrupulously from Christian eyes. As one ascends the Nile, this mock modesty wears off.

Their dress has already been described, and I need only further remark of it, that, as one approaches the tropic, it diminishes in quantity as one would wish it to increase, until at length a leather band round the waist is the only screen that conceals the sex of the wearer, leaving all their natural deformities exposed to view.

Amongst such of the Arabs as are in easy circumstances — particularly the young men — the eccentricities of dandyism are by no means unknown or uncultivated, and the Nizam dress (that worn by the new troops) is becoming very fashionable, admitting, as it does, of great latitude in cut, colour, and enrichments.

As might be expected in a country so long under the dominion of Turks, the Arab population of Egypt was in the most profound ignorance, until Mohammed Ali, by establishing schools at Cairo, Boulak, and other places, set an example that has been generally followed in all the large towns. One, which I visited at Kheneh, was very numerous at-

tended, and contained some very promising scholars.

The education at these schools extends only to reading and writing in Arabic, and arithmetic; but an almost insuperable objection to a finished education in any Mohammedan State is the early age at which marriages are contracted:—a father provides a wife for his son, when he ought to be still at school; so that the youths themselves have the cares and distractions of a family upon them, ere they are of an age to be removed from under the rod of the schoolmaster;—and, it may be here observed, that precocity of intellect is by no means remarkable amongst the Arabs, so that their education cannot commence at an earlier age than in more northern climates.

The arts and sciences, of which Egypt claims the honour of having been the cradle, (though she certainly never brought any to maturity,) are in the same mummy state as the bodies of the philosophers and savans that formerly cultivated them. All know-

ledge of astronomy, chemistry, medicine, sculpture, and painting, is quite lost. Arab music is mere noise, without the slightest pretensions to harmony ; and obtains favour in Egyptian ears in proportion to the din and discord produced. The common instruments in use amongst the Fellahs are the reed pipe, and a kind of drum, or tambourine, made of an earthenware pot, covered with a sheepskin, on which they thrum with their hands most unmercifully and unceasingly. There are, also, several kinds of stringed instruments, of the lyre and guitar kind ; but they are seldom heard outside the walls of the hareems.

The songs of the Arabs are monotonous ditties, set to the simplest airs. The awali and dancing girls usually accompany their voices by castanets. The boatmen on the Nile always have recourse to singing, when any extraordinary exertion is required of them ; and the buffo of the crew improvises on any subject that suggests itself, connected with the voyage or the passengers, his com-

panions joining in chorus, and generally appearing to derive great amusement from the wit of their leader—sometimes, he encourages them by a noise resembling the neighing of a horse, which I observed always gave the boat additional way. I cannot convey a better idea of what the Arabs consider *music*, than by repeating a description with which our worthy consular agent at Suez favoured me, of the sufferings of his family, under the pangs of cholera—after imitating, in a kind of cadenza, all the varieties of moans, groans, shrieks, and other disagreeable sounds, incidental to the complaint—from the sharp and piercing cry of his young children, to the low grunt of his aged mother—he concluded by saying that, in fact, “it was just like music.”

The *ceremony* of mourning on the death of a near relative continues to be practised by almost all the different species of inhabitants of Egypt, with all the curious peculiarities described by Herodotus. The females of the family bewail their loss with loud cries, beating their breasts, and throwing dirt and

ashes against the walls, &c.—but, as there needs must be a turn to this extravagant effort to be mournful, after a certain lapse of time, persons are hired to continue the lamentations, until the body of the deceased is committed to the earth.

It has been stated as an objection to Egypt ever becoming a powerful nation, that the Mussulman fanaticism of its inhabitants has passed away, and been succeeded by a laxity of religious feeling, amounting in many cases to absolute atheism ; that the only bond of union by which the followers of Islamism were linked together, having thus been burst asunder, without any other system of theology having been substituted for it, Egypt must in a short time fall to pieces.

It is certainly true, that the Egyptian Fellah is a less rigid observer of all the practices prescribed for the faithful followers of Mohammed, than either the Turk, Persian, or Moor of Western Africa ; yet I do not see that, by clothing himself in a different raiment from that of his father, allowing his wife or

daughters to go at large, his eating food, hitherto considered unclean*, or his giving

• A ridiculous instance of the change effected in public opinion of late occurred a short time previously to my arrival at the Egyptian capital: a Levantine tradesman of Cairo, wishing, probably, to do honour to his patron St. Anthony, and at the same time give his friends a treat, took a joint of pork to be cooked at a Mohammedan bakehouse. The backsliding baker of the faithful made no scruple in admitting the unclean flesh to cook in company with orthodox meats, but one of his customers—a more rigid observer of the Koran—on coming for his bit of buffalo, discovered it with horror, baking alongside the smoking ribs and crackling skin of the abominated beast, and raised an outcry against the offending baker, who was instantly dragged before Habib Effendi (a sort of sitting Magistrate of the Egyptian metropolis) and ordered to explain forthwith his reason for daring thus to set the mandates of the Prophet at defiance. “Truly,” said the trembling culprit, “I have lately witnessed such changes in Egypt, that I thought I was committing no sin. Do I not daily see Moslim soldiers equipped as Franks? Beys, half-dressed as Franks? Women shamelessly exposing their faces like Franks? Frank dishes eaten—nay, even Frank wines drunk? Could I, with such sights before my eyes, suppose there was any sin in allowing a piece of Frank pork to bake quietly by the side of Mussulmanish meats?”—adding that, in what he had done, he had, in fact, but acted up to the “spirit of the age.” The Mohammedan sage was a little staggered; he admitted, however true all that had been stated might be, (and he regretted to say that there was much in the example of some who should know better, to lead away ignorant men like the culprit,) yet he was placed there to see that all the faithful inhabitants of Cairo acted up to the *spirit of the Koran*—that pork was pork; and the precepts of the Prophet must be obeyed. A quibbling Moolah here observed that *fire* was a purifier of all things—upon which, after a consultation, it was decided that no harm could have been done to the other meats in the oven, by the steam of

up any other equally absurd prejudices, can make him a worse man, or is likely to have a deteriorating effect upon the Egyptians as a nation. The Mohammedan Protestantism, (if I may be allowed so to call it) that has been introduced, has, on the contrary, given birth to a social system, which tends to bind a people together more firmly than mere accordance in religious opinions. The finer feelings of human nature—affection for their kindred, friendship, patriotism, (which may be said to have been hitherto unheard of in the annals of Islamism,) are beginning to find a place in the breasts of the people of Egypt—I myself have witnessed repeated instances of those virtues.

At the same time, a wide and general stream of knowledge is spreading over the whole land, sapping to the very foundation the already crumbling fabric of Mohammed. Every fresh contact with the more enlight-

the Levantine's pork, and the complaint was dismissed. The triumphant baker now professes to roast "Frank and other meats," and has had a thriving business ever since the wise decision of the judge in his favour.

ened European removes from the mind of the Egyptian some one of the precepts inculcated by the Koran. He already admits the infinitely superior knowledge of the Christian in every branch of science, and, such being the case, it cannot but be supposed that ultimately his eyes may be opened also to the truths of our holy religion.

I do not for one moment mean to assert, that Mohammed Ali has any such ulterior object in view ; but I do fully and faithfully give him credit for wishing to raise the people of Egypt from the degraded rank they have for years held in the scale of nations, and cannot join in the abuse of an “ iron despotism,” which, whilst it promotes and causes a diffusion of knowledge that wars against the religious prejudices of the Egyptians, benefits the country in various other ways. To it, the country is indebted for the adoption of quarantine restrictions, which, though they have not afforded it perfect immunity from the plague, have certainly on several occasions prevented its spread, and in

others mitigated its direful ravages. It is this despotism which, by confining the youths within the walls of their colleges, gives a check to the early marriages, that tend to unfit them for all active employments; and, by prohibiting the use of the pipe at these public seminaries, takes the first step towards eradicating this predominant vice of Moham-medanism.*

* Nothing tends so much as the pernicious and universal habit of smoking to retard all improvement amongst the nations of the East, producing habitual indolence, and occasioning an irreparable loss of time—an instance I witnessed of this, though trifling as to its *consequences*, is laughable enough to be recorded.

Having expressed a wish to be present at the operation of casting at the great foundry of Boulak, Mr. Galloway obligingly sent one morning to acquaint me that a grand exhibition was to take place there at mid-day, under the personal superintendence of Athem Bey, one of the first officers of state. I accordingly proceeded at the hour appointed to witness the operation. As might be expected, the heat was overpowering; for, besides six large smelting furnaces, and the fire and boilers of a steam-engine, we were in the month of May. Despite, however, the heat, smoke, and coal-dust, unconscious of the din of voices, hammers, and bellows, there lay extended at full length on a *sofa*, a fat, swarthy, sleeping lump of human flesh, which I expected every moment to see run melting into the channels laid down for casting ship's ballast. A host of secretaries, chiboukdgées, and cafedgées, with their respective implements of office, were in attendance, and immediately held a consultation as to the propriety of awakening the great man; for this

By Mohammed Ali's tyranny, the Arab fellahs—considered but a short time since fit only to direct the ox that drew their plough, or turned their water-wheel—have been raised to fill offices of trust in every branch of the administration of *their* country. If they are now compelled to cultivate eight times the quantity of land beyond what is necessary for their own subsistence; to excavate canals, construct roads, bridges, and other public works; to receive instruction in the arts and sciences as taught in the various arsenals, manufactories, schools, and colleges, that have been established; and, finally, to serve in the military service, by which the whole system is upheld; it is by a tyranny that must eventually improve their condition, by invigorating their minds as well as bodies: and, if this

personage was no other than Athem Bey himself, a general of artillery, chief engineer, and superintendent of all the scientific establishments of Egypt; the greatest philosopher and mathematician of the universe, and looked upon as a kind of Mohammedan Mæcenas! What a picture for the pencil of Cruikshank! He had smoked himself to sleep, and the whole operation that he came to inspect was performed before his *closed* eyes.

new order of things tends to civilize the country, and civilization produces happiness, then has Mohammed Ali been a benefactor to Egypt.

CHAPTER VII.

First Attempt of Mohammed Ali to Organize the Army of Egypt on the European Model — Revolt of the Troops — War with the Wahabees — Expedition to Senaar — Formation of the Nizam, and Dispersion of the Janizaries and Albanians — Renewal of Hostilities with the Wahabees — Excellent Conduct of the new Levies — War in the Morea — Uninterrupted Success of the Arab Army — Affair of Mylos — Siege of Missolonghi — War in Syria — Strength and Composition of the Present Egyptian Army — Pay — Rations — Conscription — Good Qualities of the Fellah — Dress of the Troops — Remarks on the Efficiency of the Army, &c. — Sulieman Pasha.

MOHAMMED ALI judged correctly in supposing that by compulsion only could a new order of things be introduced into a country, which, though degraded to the lowest depth of misery and ignorance, and long accustomed to be governed with the most despotic sway, was, nevertheless, imbued with nine centuries of religious prejudices, all opposed to innovation. He erred, however, in the out-

set, by imagining that the lever, by the help of which he trusted to overturn these obstacles, could be itself re-modelled. The turbulent Turks and Arnauts composing the army that had raised him to the Pashalic of Egypt, contrary to the wishes of the Sultan, were prepared to go any lengths to maintain him in his independence of the Porte; but they had been too long accustomed to look upon the natives of the soil as their slaves, and to regard the Pasha himself, indeed, as a mere instrument to work their will, during their pleasure; to brook being subjected to any rules of discipline that trenched upon their long abused prerogatives.

Possessed, moreover, with a Greco-Mussulman idea of their being quite able to cope with the best troops in Christendom, these lawless soldiers were naturally averse to submit to the drudgery of a system, which—setting prejudices aside—they conceived their superior valour placed them above the necessity of learning; and, accordingly, Mohammed Ali's order for organizing his army on

the European model was received with general and undisguised dissatisfaction. This occurred in 1815.

The Pasha's popularity with the troops—founded on his oft proved courage and liberality—induced them, however, to give his plan a trial, and the first orders were sullenly obeyed. Mohammed Ali, regardless of the clouded brows of his soldiery, persisted in the attempt—perhaps he pushed on his various innovations too rapidly, (it is his prevailing fault), and thereby hurried on the crisis; but, under any circumstances, I doubt much, whether the men with whom he had to deal could ever have been rendered efficient for his purpose.—Men who looked with contempt on a bayonet as compared with a yatagan, and who for six hours a day were required to submit to the privation of their pipes, could be little expected to find pleasure in musket exercise, and the “goose step.” The result was, that the Pasha's obstinacy produced a revolt, which nearly cost him his life; and was appeased only by giving the

indignant soldiers back their pistols and pouches, and allowing them to domineer, as before, over all the other classes of his unoffending subjects.

Mohammed Ali's eyes were now, however, opened to the error he had committed ; and, with Machiavellian tact, he adopted a plan, which, whilst it unobtrusively accomplished his long cherished purpose, crushed, at the same time, the very power that had thus, at the commencement, successfully opposed it. These same refractory Janizaries were employed to compel a more pliant race to learn the tactics, and submit to the discipline which they themselves despised. Blinded by their self-sufficiency, they, not till it was too late, discovered that they had given away their power ; that the men on whom they had looked with contempt were become their masters ; and having, at the same time, become sensible of the advantage they had gained by the change, were determined to retain it.

The first step towards effecting this change had been the getting gradually rid of the un-

disciplined hordes, that composed the existing army; and Fortune favoured Mohammed Ali with an excellent opportunity for so doing, the Sultan having saddled upon him the charge of carrying on the war against the Wahabees.

The wily Pasha was well aware that this distinguished mark of favour was bestowed much less with the view of putting down the schismatic Arabs than with that of crippling his own growing power. He had consequently, of late years, carried on the war very supinely: so much so, indeed, that the Wahabees had at one time even possessed themselves of Jedda, Mekka, and Medina; and, at about the period of the revolt of the Janizaries at Cairo, had obtained some marked successes over the Pasha's army in the field: which, the year following, had also to regret the loss of its young General, Toussoun Pasha, (Mohammed Ali's third son), who fell a victim to the plague.

Mohammed Ali, now, in good earnest, set about executing the pressing orders of the

Porte. To redeem the character of the soldiers of the true faith,* and preserve the holy city from profanation, were strong incentives to his fanatic troops to embark willingly in the enterprize, and were excellent pretexts with him for the adoption of energetic measures; but the most potent of all the reasons that actuated him—though the least apparent—was *policy*. Ibrahim Pasha was accordingly despatched to the Edjaz, late in the year 1816, with a large force; in which, as may easily be imagined, most of the Arnauts were incorporated, who had rendered themselves conspicuous by their opposition to Mohammed Ali's innovations.

After a series of combats, Ibrahim finally succeeded in capturing the chief of the Wahabees, and placing the Pashalic of Mekka in security; but his army was reduced to a mere handful of men, with whom, in December, 1819, he returned to Egypt.

* Aboul Wahiab, the founder of this new sect, maintained, however, that his was the *true faith*; and that his object was merely to bring back Islamism to its original purity.

The favourable time for the execution of Mohammed Ali's long projected plan had now arrived—the ranks of his refractory army had for the present been sufficiently thinned to answer his purpose—and, with what remained of his Albanian troops, he determined on undertaking the conquest of Senaar, calculating that whilst, on the one hand, this war would still further diminish the number of his intractable countrymen, it would, on the other, supply him with captives of a more docile race, with whom he purposed forming his new levées, or Nizam. Accordingly, in June, 1820, Ishmael Pasha (Mohammed Ali's second son) set off for Senaar, with an army of three thousand men, and, after some hard fighting, obtained possession of the capital. In the course of the following year, a reinforcement of an equal number of troops arrived, under the command of the Defterdar Bey (a son-in-law of Mohammed Ali), to whom was entrusted the conquest of Cordofan.

On the death of Ishmael—who, falling into

a snare, was burnt alive*—the Defterdar assumed the command of the army, which continued to occupy both Senaar and Cordofan until the latter end of 1824, when it was relieved by a body of the black slaves who had been captured and sent to Egypt by thousands, on the first arrival of the Defterdar, and who now returned, formed into regiments and drilled in the European manner. The astonishment of the undisciplined Janizaries was unbounded—resistance fruitless—so, sheathing their scimitars, and exclaiming “*Allah akbah*”—God is great—they took their way back to Egypt, from whence the greater portion of them was shortly afterwards shipped for Candia.

Mohammed Ali had commenced carrying

* Ishmael Pasha fell a victim to the revenge of the Sheik of a village, on whom he had inflicted a blow. The hut, in which he and his suite had taken up their quarters for the night, was surrounded with dried logs of wood and straw, whilst they were asleep, and set on fire. They attempted to force their way out, and killed several of their besiegers, but were eventually overcome by the smoke and heat, and all, excepting one attendant, thus miserably perished. The horrid Defterdar Bay devoted twenty thousand heads as a sacrifice to the manes of Ishmael.

into execution his plan of re-modelling the Egyptian army, immediately after the departure of the Defterdar Bey for Senaar, with the last of the Janizaries. For this purpose, he ordered a camp to be formed at Esneh (afterwards moved to Assouan), where a kind of military school was established, to which he directed all his own Mameluke attendants, as well as those of his principal officers, to repair — appointing one of his most devoted adherents its commandant, and giving him, as an instructor, Monsieur Seves, formerly a colonel in the French service, and aid-de-camp to Marshal Ney.

The persons here brought together and instructed, were to become the officers of the new levées. The slaves from Senaar and Cordofan, who were to fill the ranks, soon arrived in crowds, and were incorporated with a certain proportion of native Egyptians, obtained (in the first instance) by voluntary enlistment. The army was formed upon the French model, and divided into regiments of five battalions of eight hundred men each.

This organization (which has since undergone some modification) was considered as the best calculated for the kind of warfare in which the Egyptian army was, in the first instance, likely to be engaged ; each regiment forming, as it were, a small corps d'armée, that could be employed separately, under its own colonel. By this plan, also, a saving was effected in the staff and superior officers, who, in the outset, were difficult to be met with : Mohammed Ali soon discovering that the most perfect Chiboukdgee oftentimes made but an indifferent *Chef de Bataillon*.

In the course of three years, six regiments were completed, making an army of twenty-four thousand men. The soldiers (the drudgery of learning the elements of their profession over) soon took a liking to their new life, which they found was not one of greater labour than that to which they had been brought up ; but the Turkish officers regretted much their former *otium cum dignitate*, and adopted the new costume with a very bad grace. Ibrahim Pasha did all in his power

to overcome this Mohammedan repugnance to march forward in the road of innovation, himself setting an example of the most perfect submission to the directions of the Frank instructors, and holding out rewards to those who should soonest make themselves masters of the European tactics. But prejudice has too strong a hold of the present generation of Turks to be easily shaken, and the instructions of the officers did not keep pace by any means with that of the soldiers.

When the regiments were pronounced to be in a fit state to take the field, (1824) one proceeded, as before mentioned, to relieve the force occupying Senaar and Cordofan, and another was despatched to reinforce the troops that had been left for the protection of the Pashalic of Mekka: the Wahabees having again taken the field, and drawn near the shores of the Red Sea.

In this quarter, hostilities soon commenced. The Wahabees, despising the new levées sent against them—so differently equipped from the splendidly attired troops with whom they

had hitherto been engaged — quitted their strong positions, with the intention of surrounding and cutting to pieces these pitiful adversaries. They had soon cause, however, to repent their temerity, and to regret the fiery coursers and gaudy trappings of their old opponents. The Egyptian infantry behaved with great steadiness and gallantry, and obtained a complete victory. Such is the superiority of discipline, however slight, over mere brute courage, however great.

Throughout the campaign that followed, (the first in which the new levées were actively employed) the Egyptian troops earned the reputation of possessing the principal qualities requisite in a soldier—courage, endurance of privations and fatigue, and sobriety; whilst their Turkish officers proved themselves to be totally unworthy of commanding them. In 1826, this regiment (the 2nd) was relieved, and, on its return to Egypt, the soldiers received a decoration in testimony of their good conduct and gallantry.

It is not my intention to enter into a de-

tailed account of all the campaigns of the Egyptian army, but, in justice to it, I am bound to say a few words relative to the war in the Morea, where the long despised fellah of Egypt first came in contact with Europeans, —undisciplined and intractable Greeks, it is true, but a race, nevertheless, to whom persons generally — (so apt are we “*à prendre les souvenirs pour des espérances*”) would be inclined to award the palm, over their less intellectual opponents.

Of the impolicy of Mohammed Ali in entering upon this contest, it is not my intention to offer any observations: suffice it to say, that, pressed by the importunate *supplications* of the Sultan, and tempted, perhaps, by the promise of the Pashalic of the Morea for his son Ibrahim, he undertook to prop up the tottering empire of the Crescent; for which purpose a force of about seventeen thousand men was collected at Alexandria, early in the year 1824, and placed under the command of Ibrahim Pasha.

Although the fleet conveying the first di-

vision of this army left the shores of Egypt in the month of July, yet, retarded by an insurrection which broke out in Candia, and other causes, it only reached its destination on the 26th of March of the following year.

At that period, the fortresses of Modon, Coron, and Patrass, and the castle at the southern side of the Straits of Lepanto, were the only points in the Morea still in the possession of the Turks. The garrisons of these places, pent up, without the means of communicating with each other, either by sea or land, and without a hope of succour, could not have held out many days.

Ibrahim landed at Modon, and commenced operations by laying siege to Navarin and raising that of Coron ; and, before the month of July—that is to say, in three months—he had made himself master of the fortresses of Old and New Navarin ; relieved all the others ; defeated the Greeks in three general actions, besides numerous minor *affairs* ; and marched his victorious troops across the Morea to the very gates of Nauplia. The

solitary skirmish of Mylos (claimed by the Greeks as a signal victory, and regarded by them as a second Thermopylæ*) being the only check that his arms sustained.

* On Ibrahim Pasha's first advance on Argos, he found Demetrius Ipsalanti occupying, with five hundred men, the almost inattackable post of Mylos. This position extends about five hundred yards, between a rocky precipice, that overhangs the road from Tripolizza to Argos, and the sea. Its front is covered so effectually by the Lernean marsh as to leave merely the breadth of the road itself to advance by. Behind the marsh (which the inhabitants to this day maintain is unfathomable) are the scattered mills and houses of Mylos, surrounded by gardens, walls, ditches, &c. The right flank of the Greeks was, of course, the only assailable point of their line; but even this was protected by the fire of several *gun-boats*, which, anchored close to the shore, on the left of the position, these were enabled to sweep the whole front of the line with their fire. The advanced guard of the Egyptian army, ignorant of the nature of the ground, attacked the Greeks along their whole front; but Ibrahim Pasha, coming up and discovering how matters stood, withdrew his troops, turned the position, by crossing a low mountain ridge on his left, regained the road in the rear of Mylos, and, without troubling himself about the five hundred Greeks behind him, continued his march to Argos. The Greeks made no attempt to disturb him, but immediately took to their boats and hastened to Nauplia, and so ended the affair of Thermopylæ Mylos.

Demetrius Ipsalanti was a brave man, and, what was yet more strange, amongst modern Greeks, an upright one. No person was better calculated than himself to play the part of Leonidas; but he might have looked in vain for three hundred brother heroes to lay down their lives to save their country—there being a vast difference

The remainder of the year 1825 was occupied in reducing the Morea to submission ; and, early in the following spring, Ibrahim, crossing over to Roumelia, halted before Missolonghi, which fell into his hands after a siege of three months. This success was purchased at an enormous cost of human life, but without any loss of reputation to the Arab troops. The difficulties they had to contend against were very great ; the season selected for undertaking the siege the very worst of the whole year—being that at which the entire face of the country round the fortress becomes a perfect bog, rendering an attack by regular approaches almost impossible—and the Greeks, emboldened, probably, by the recent failures of the Turks against these same walls, defended themselves with a degree of resolution and courage that they certainly—on land—in no other instance evinced.

between the Spartans of old and the Palicari of this age—that is to say, if we credit all that we *read* of the former, and only what we *see* of the latter.

The events which followed need not be dwelt upon—the Morea again bent to the Mohammedan yoke ; the fortresses of Nauplia and Napoli di Malvasia alone, of all its strongholds, remained in the hands of the Greeks (and these, without the co-operation of a fleet, may be considered impregnable); the piratical Mainotes had been driven and confined to the fastnesses of their native peninsula ; and the more peaceful inhabitants of the plains, released from the dread of the wandering bands of “Palicari,” once more returned to the cultivation of their vineyards, or resumed their long-interrupted commercial intercourse with the Turks.

The Egyptian army, having fulfilled its task in the Morea, was about to be transported to some other part of the theatre of war, when the parties to the triple alliance interfered to arrest it. The battle of Navarino followed, and, in September 1828, the victorious Ibrahim was compelled to return to Egypt—stript of all his conquests, but certainly not of his well-earned laurels.

The war in Syria broke out soon after ; and the siege of Akka and battle of Konieh added to the reputation of the Arab troops and their commander.

It is here necessary to remark, that a considerable change had been effected in the Egyptian army since it first took the field against the Wahabees, when it was composed principally of the black slaves captured in the wars of Senaar and Kordofan. Those natives of a tropical region had, in the course of a very few years, been swept off by diseases brought on by change of climate, food, &c., and Mohammed Ali then determined on filling up the vacancies in his ranks exclusively with the native fellahs. Of these, the army which conquered the Morea was principally composed, and the regular army of Egypt continues, in a great measure, to be recruited to this day from the same class.

It would be a matter of extreme difficulty for any foreigner to ascertain the *exact* numerical strength of the Egyptian army, as well from its being so dispersed over the

various provinces that are now comprised within the government of Mohammed Ali, as from the want of returns that can at all be depended upon. But, if all the regiments of which it is composed were kept to their full establishment, it would amount to about ninety thousand men, organized as shown in the following table:—

				MEN.
Horse Artillery of the Guard	. 1 Company	. . .		80
Foot do. do.	. 2 Companies	. . .		200
Horse Artillery	. . . 6 Companies	. . .		480
Foot Artillery	. 3 Battalions of 6 Companies			1800
Field Train			1200
Total Artillery				3760
Sappers, Miners, and Pontoniers			2000
Cavalry . .	13 Regiments of Chasseurs and Lancers	. . .		6890
Infantry . .	3 Regiments of Guards (9 Battalions only)			7200
do.	22 Regiments of the Line	. . .		70400
do.	3 Companies of Veterans (in the Fortresses)			300
Total of Regular Troops of all Arms				90,550

The complement of men to each regiment of cavalry is five hundred and thirty, formed into six companies, or three squadrons; and the strength of the regiments of infantry is three thousand two hundred men,

divided into four battalions of eight companies each.

As but few, if any, of the regiments are complete, (indeed, some of them are mere skeletons) the strength of the *regular* Egyptian army, even including the staff and military schools, cannot, however, be calculated at more than eighty thousand men. Even this number is an enormous force to raise out of the population of Egypt.*

The staff of each regiment consists of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, four chefs de bataillon, four adjutant-majors, four assistant adjutant-majors, one surgeon, four assistants, four accountants, and an iman (priest); each company—officered by a captain, lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant—is composed of a serjeant-major, four serjeants, eight corporals, two drummers, and eighty rank and file.

* This force is *supposed* to be raised and kept complete by conscripts, levied exclusively in Egypt. The troops raised in Syria, together with irregular Bedouin and other tribes, kept in pay by Mohammed Ali, would, perhaps, swell his ranks to nearly double that amount.

The pay of the different ranks is as follows :—

			PIASTRES.
Of a Colonel	per mensem . . .	8000	about £88
“ Lieutenant-Colonel . . .	“ . . .	4000	
“ Chef de Bataillon . . .	“ . . .	2000	
“ Adjutant-Major . . .	“ . . .	1500	
“ Assistant do. . . .	“ . . .	1000	
“ Captain	“ . . .	500	
“ Lieutenant	“ . . .	350	
“ Sub-Lieutenant . . .	“ . . .	250	
The Non-Commissioned Officers	“ from 30 to	40	
“ Private	“ . . .	20	

The soldier is furnished yearly with two complete suits of clothing, and his daily ration consists of half a pound of meat, a pound and half of bread, with a small quantity of rice, beans, oil, vegetables, and wood.

The war in which Mohammed Ali continues to be constantly engaged in the Yeman, the threatening attitude of the Porte, and the military occupation of Syria and Candia, impose on him the necessity of maintaining an army so totally disproportioned to the resources of the country, in men as well as in money ; whilst, to make good the constant deficiencies caused in its ranks, both by the

sword of the enemy and the unhealthy climate of Syria, he has been forced to adopt the system of conscription.

This was originally of the most arbitrary and unsparing kind: indeed, so ill was it understood, that an instance is recorded of forty-eight thousand men having been sent from all parts of Egypt to the camp of Hankah, from which twelve thousand only were to be selected. Lamé, blind, decrepid, all were sent without distinction. Twenty-two thousand women and children accompanied this *levée en masse*, so that the fields were left without hands to cultivate them, and many villages without an inhabitant.

The system has, however, undergone many improvements of late years; amongst others, that of dividing the country into military arrondissements, and sending proper officers—as well medical as military—to inspect the conscripts at the dépôts of the different districts. Still many glaring abuses remain to be corrected, and that of all others which cries out for a remedy is the power left in

the hands of the Sheiks-el-Belled, whose business it is to furnish the quota of conscripts prescribed for each village, and of whom — provided the specified number be forthcoming—few questions are asked touching the mode by which it was levied.

The Sheiks are, consequently, by no means scrupulous of laying their hands upon any eligible persons who come within their reach, in order to save their own relations or friends. Whole boats' crews have been thus kidnapped to save the inhabitants of a village, whilst, on the other hand, the inhabitants of the village itself are selected completely at his whim or caprice, without being allowed a chance of escape, by ballot or substitute. Those who mutilate themselves (which numbers formerly did) to avoid being taken for the army or navy—if found to have rendered themselves incapable of being turned to account in the cotton factories, &c.,—are sent to labour in chains at the public works ; and thus, in addition to the pain and loss (sometimes even of a hand) which they have in-

flicted on themselves, are subjected to a much harder fate than if they had quietly submitted to become useful members of society, though in a way that appears to have but few charms for them.

The dislike that the fellah of Egypt has to quit his native place is unconquerable. To us Englishmen, it appears almost incredible that young men of from eighteen to twenty-five years of age should regard as a hardship the being obliged to leave home: it is with them, nevertheless, the grievance universally complained of, and may be accounted for by the ties of early marriages; the indolence in which men grow up who possess the means of subsistence at the cost of but little exertion and fatigue; the total want of mental cultivation, and consequent ignorance of there being any other pleasures in this life, besides the gratification of the passions in common with the brute creation: the full enjoyment of which is the reward held out to the good Mussulman, in the sensual paradise of his prophet.

The Egyptian fellah sees a companion —

perhaps a brother—who wallowed in the same filth, and was covered with the same disgusting vermin as himself; who fed on the same coarse food, and was clothed with similar rags; dragged in handcuffs from his native village to be made a soldier or sailor. He sees him return in a few years, metamorphosed into a half-civilized being, provided with all the necessaries of life, smart in his appearance, and liking his new state of existence; but neither his envy nor his ambition is excited. Of patriotism he has little notion, except that he would rather be governed by the Sheik el belled, his countryman, than spurned and bullied by his former oppressor, the Turk.

With such men as these, a conscription is an unavoidable evil—for a recruiting party, with all the allurements of drums, ribbons, and promises, might march from Rosetta to Assouan without picking up a single volunteer—and yet, the first prejudices overcome, the fellah takes a great liking to the military life; and his carriage and deportment clearly

show that he is quite conscious of having taken a higher grade in the scale of society.

Desertion is very rare, but it is much to be regretted (at least by those who wish to see Egypt become civilized) that the constant wars in which Mohammed Ali has been engaged since the establishment of the Nizam have not allowed the soldiers such frequent opportunities of visiting their friends and native places as is desirable. This, therefore, tends to keep up the dread entertained for the military service, it being considered as certain death to enter it; for writing being altogether unknown amongst the lower orders of the Arab population of Egypt, and the opportunities of conveying information by other means extremely rare; the relatives of a conscript, after a lapse of some time without hearing of him, come to the conclusion that he has fallen a victim to the sword or disease.

It is said that the number of men taken by conscription in the Delta, which is the most productive part of Egypt, bears no proportion to that levied in the other provinces. I

believe this to be the case, for I certainly, as I before mentioned, saw no want of young men *there* ; whereas, I observed that the fields in Upper Egypt were frequently cultivated exclusively by old men or boys, and females.

I cannot, however, admit that mischief to the extent generally represented has arisen from the conscription. It is true that, both in the Delta and in Upper Egypt, large tracts of country susceptible of cultivation are lying waste ; but then it frequently would happen, from the Nile not rising to the necessary height, that the cultivators of those tracts would be thrown out of employment. I think, the sacrifice of those lands is fully counterbalanced by the degree of security with which the inhabitants of the more favoured parts of the country now cultivate their fields ; freed by this army of conscripts from the marauding visits of the Bedouins, and the oppressive exactions of the Mamelukes and Janizaries. The mischief to be apprehended is that the country will not be able to furnish for any length of time the

number of conscripts required to recruit the present immense standing army, without drawing upon the cultivators of the lands that may *always* be rendered productive.

The native of Egypt is in many respects fitted to make a good soldier; he is hardy, and equal to great bodily fatigue; temperate, and satisfied with the coarsest food; docile, and easily led, particularly by kindness; respectful to his superiors, and obedient to the rules of military discipline; but the Frank *instructors* of the Egyptian army know not themselves the true meaning of the term discipline, nor are they of that class of men to excite much respect, even from ignorant Arabs. For the most part, outcasts from society, and natives of those countries of southern Europe that are the least distinguished for military conduct, they are by no means qualified for the task they have undertaken, and are quite satisfied with the degree of discipline they have instilled into their disciples, which amounts to little more than the timid obedience of a flock of sheep to the bark and

worry of the shepherd's dogs. — For the qualities of alertness on their posts, order and regularity in their quarters, or cleanliness and respectability in their appearance, it would be in vain to seek in the soldiers of the present army of Egypt.

I know not, however, what Egyptian troops a modern traveller can have seen, who asserts that they are the dregs of Lower Egypt, and that he hardly saw a soldier in the ranks who had not lost *one* eye. The defect of vision must decidedly have been on his side — for such a want in a conscript Fellah would cause him to be rejected from the military service.

The dress of the troops is certainly not calculated to set them off to advantage in European eyes, but it is as convenient a costume as could have been adopted, considering the prejudices to be encountered ; and its description will furnish an exemplification of the *transition* state of every thing in this country. The nether garment, without having been actually fashioned into trowsers, is in a kind of chrysalis state, between the Turk-

ish shaksheer and what used to be called "Cossacks;" the upper part having the semblance of breeches, but being furnished with "continuations" fitting tight from the knee down, in the style of leggings. The jacket fits close to the body, is unencumbered with skirts, and convenient enough. These garments, as also a wide sash that folds round the waist, are, for winter wear, made of a coarse, red* woollen stuff, but others of white cotton are substituted in summer. The feet roam about in a pair of large red leather shoes, which — pointed and turned up at the toes—are altogether against file marching. The head dress is the common red cloth cap, or turbouch; which, besides that it affords no protection to the eyes against sun, wind, and dust, (thereby multiplying the causes of ophthalmia), must be very disadvantageous when the sun has sided with the enemy, and has to be faced as well as their fire: for the glare of the one would effectually prevent a correct aim being taken in returning the other.

* The guards are clothed in dark brown.

The muskets are rough, but good, and are invariably in excellent order. The accoutrements are of white leather, and inconveniently long.

The dress of the officers is provided, in the first instance, at the Viceroy's expense. It is covered with gold lace—tasteless and tawdry, but is uniform, and bears some resemblance in colour to that of the soldiers. From its costliness, however, the officers are afterwards permitted to indulge their own fancies, and I have seen them on parade decked out in all sorts of colours—blue, green, brown, and even yellow — the red skull-cap and pointed shoes being the only articles that are common to all. This sweeping permission to “depart from the regulation ” has probably been given to the officers, from the greater difficulty experienced in overcoming the prejudices of the *Turks*, who still fill all the upper ranks of the Egyptian army; the Arabs, except in very few instances, being confined to the lower grades.*

* They seldom rise beyond the rank of lieutenant.

In the formation of the Egyptian army, Mohammed Ali's greatest difficulty was to find a class of men of whom he could make officers. The Arabs—with all their ignorance—were probably more fit for the purpose than the Turks; but he was justly fearful that the officers, if taken from the same class as the soldiers, would acquire an influence which might prove subversive of his plans; and cause his own destruction, without effecting any permanent good for the country; whereas, by persuading the Turks to accept the superior offices, he kept them in his interest, without apparently doing any injustice to the condemned native Fellah.

Aware, however, that this state of things cannot last; whilst Mohammed Ali affects to favour the Turks, and is obliged to humour their prejudices; he is at the same time preparing the natives of the country—who are by no means so inveterately opposed to Frank innovations, and do not possess the overbearing conceit and obstinacy of the Osmanlees—to take the stations to which their superior

acquirements will entitle them. By the encouragement given to talent and the establishment of schools, they are already made aware of the debt of obligation they owe Mohammed Ali. They are also daily losing some portion of the awe with which they have been accustomed to regard their Turkish oppressors, and it is to be hoped will—when they become aware of their strength, which they inevitably must do ere long—see the necessity of remaining united, and the advantage of following up a system that has wrought so happy a change in their condition.

It follows, from what I have above stated, that at the present moment the officers compose by far the worst class of the Egyptian army. Hence it must be evident that the Arab troops cannot be what our neighbours call “*manœuvrières* ;” indeed, their utmost knowledge of tactics amounts to deploying from column into line, reforming column, and a few similar simple movements ; and even these are executed in a loose and slovenly manner, and occupy a space of time that

would cause their utter destruction before most European troops.

But, if Mohammed Ali has not succeeded in bringing his army to a very high state of either instruction or discipline, he has, at all events, organized a body of men fully equal to cope with any enemy against whom he is for some time likely to have to contend ;— a force to which the country is indebted for its release from the thralldom of the Porte and for its present state of civilization ; the community at large, for the security which it affords to trade, science, and industry ; by whose means, in fine, an order of things has been established, which, if fortunately followed up, will make Egypt once more a rich and powerful nation.

Let not Mohammed Ali deceive himself, however, by supposing (as his parasites constantly assure him) that his troops are quite a match for the best disciplined soldiers in Europe : indeed, regarding the Egyptian army in that light, there is something quite ludicrous in its present Franco-mussulman state :

from the short affairé gait of the French Pasha,* its instructor general — whose ex-christian legs, encumbered in a Turkish nether garment, struggle in vain for the mastery over its cumbersome and ample folds—to the listless Arab sentinel posted at his door, who—regardless of all decorum, civil and military—having laid his firelock down in a corner, sits at his ease, “*faccendo la caccia dei pidocchi!*”

* Sulieman Pasha (Colonel Sevès.) To this officer is due the credit of having, with infinite pains, patience, and perseverance, despite of jealousies, backbitings, and prejudices, and with but slight assistance from his subordinates, brought the Egyptian army to its present state of discipline — such as it is — a task, which certainly bespeaks the possession of rare military qualities. From his services in the Morea, where he was the principal adviser of Ibrahim Pasha, it may be inferred that he is equally as capable of directing an army in the field as of preparing one for it—*au reste*, according to the general testimony of his countrymen (for I had not the honour of his acquaintance) he is in social life “un brave garçon,” and, as far as having three wives and a handsome service of pipes and coffee cups, he does his “petit possible” to convince the world that he is a good Mussulman.

CHAPTER VIII.

Public Schools—Encouragement given by Mohammed Ali to the Education of the Lower Orders—Artillery and Naval College at Tourah—Cavalry School at Ghizeh—Medical and Veterinary College at Abouzabel—Disadvantage under which it labours from the want of a common Language between the Professors and Students—Instance of a Dragoman's *free Translation*—Concluding Remarks on the College—Clot Bey.

IF to the army Egypt be indebted for the progress she has made towards civilization—to the public schools that have been founded must she henceforth look for completing her regeneration: and, although many persons are disposed to accuse Mohammed Ali of having solely had the furtherance of his own ambitious projects in view by establishing the former, he must certainly, considering his advanced age, be acquitted of the charge of educating the *rising generation* for any selfish purpose.

The principal colleges that have been founded by the Viceroy are, it is true, devoted exclusively to the preparation of youths for the military services; but, at the same time, he gives every encouragement to the establishment of schools in all the towns and villages of Egypt. He is himself at the expense of maintaining one near Cairo, at which two thousand male children (chiefly the sons of poor people) are not only educated, but fed, clothed, and even *paid*, to induce the parents to overcome their pertinacious opposition to the march of *intellect*.

The establishment that first claims notice is the College of Tourah, where the candidates for commissions in the artillery, engineers, and navy, are educated.

The village of Tourah is situated on the right bank of the Nile, about eight miles above Old Cairo. The College stands upon the margin of the river, and its various buildings are disposed so as to enclose a large open space, which serves the double purpose of a play-ground and place of instruction. A brig

of war, fully equipped, is moored abreast of the College, to afford the students practical means of learning naval exercises and gunnery.

The students are three hundred and forty in number, and are divided into eight companies. By far the greater proportion are Arabs, the rest Turks and Candiot Greek. During my visit, two of the Viceroy's nephews were receiving their education at the College. They were treated — excepting that they got a somewhat better dinner — in every respect like the other lads.

The age of admission is from eleven to fifteen, but Mohammed Ali has broken through the rule, in some instances, by sending young men of nineteen or twenty. Several have even *come to school* with an establishment of wives.

The students, on first joining the College, are merely required to be able to read and write Arabic: their course of studies afterwards comprises arithmetic, geometry, algebra, military and landscape drawing, fortification, and foreign languages. In the last-

named, they receive instruction according to the particular service for which they are destined ; those intended for the navy being taught English, those for the army French, and such as have either taste or capacity for more tongues, learn Italian also. The Turkish language forms a part of the education of *all*.

I remarked that the Arab youths acquired the pronunciation of French with much greater facility than that of either English or Italian, which was explained to me as arising from its greater similarity to the Turkish. They are occupied ten hours a day at their various studies, and an hour and a half at out-door instruction, in artillery practice, or small arm and sword exercise ; leaving them by far too small a proportion of the day for recreation ; in fact, they all looked *mentally* fatigued.

The conduct of the lads appeared very correct and orderly, and great attention is evidently paid to the cleanliness of their habits. The principal want of the establishment is that of properly qualified professors, particu-

larly of languages and drawing. English and Italian were taught by a young Spaniard; French by a German, who, after a vain attempt to persuade Mohammed Ali that High Dutch was the most useful of modern dialects, succeeded at length in convincing him that a wide Saxon mouth gives a peculiarly soft turn to the final *ants* and *ments* of the French language.

The halls of study are small, but lofty and airy, and occupy the whole of one side of the square. Another division of the building contains the dormitories — eight large apartments, each capable of accommodating an entire company of students. They are scrupulously clean, and to each is attached a washing-room. Every cadet has a separate bed made up on boards and iron trestles, and is furnished with a garde-robe for his clothes, &c.

The refectory and kitchen occupy another side of the square, and do equal credit to the establishment. The students are formed in messes of ten, and squat down round circular tables, the place of each being marked by a

piece of bread and wooden spoon. They are furnished with but two meals a day—(for a crust of bread issued at daybreak, though literally a *breakfast*, can hardly be called a meal); the first at mid-day, the other at sunset. Each consists of soup, a stew of meat, vegetables, and maccaroni. The habit of eating out of the same dish—helping themselves generally with their fingers—still obtains; rendering a plentiful supply of copper kettles and hot water necessary, to remove any obstinately adhesive particles of paste or grease, which cannot be displaced from the fingers by the usual Arab process.

The hospital is on the western side of the square, facing the Nile. I was surprised to find that, out of so many youths, seven or eight was the average number of its inmates; and of these the greater portion are victims to a too easy access to the dissipations of the capital.

Under the hospital is the armoury, which might be better arranged, and its contents in better order.

The dress of the students is a step further advanced towards the European costume than even that of the army. It consists of a close-fitting, single-breasted jacket of blue cloth, with red "stand-up" collar and cuffs; blue cloth trowsers; a broad white cotton sash; red shoes; and turbouch. The two last-named are the only objectionable articles of their attire.

At the period of my visit to the College of Tourah, it was under the direction of Sequera Bey—a Spanish officer, to whose scientific acquirements and indefatigable exertions Mohammed Ali owes the foundation of most of his *thriving* military establishments. But the envy and self-sufficiency of the Turkish authorities, with whom he was called upon to act, have since led this gentleman to throw up all his appointments.

The cavalry school is at the village of Ghi-zeh, nearly opposite Old Cairo; and stands on the site of the palace of the celebrated Mameluke, Mourad Bey. This school was established in 1830, and is under the direction of

a French officer. It contains one hundred and ninety cadets, mostly Arab youths of from thirteen to eighteen years of age. They are formed into two squadrons, are tolerably good horsemen, and well instructed in the sword and lance exercises; but, beyond these accomplishments, their education is very superficial; comprising, besides reading and writing their own language, a very slight knowledge of the Turkish. I was informed that French was about to be added.

An apartment has been fitted up as a kind of theatre, in which the *theory* of the profession is taught by the evolutions of sundry wooden squadrons upon a table placed in the centre of the stage—rather a farcical exhibition.

The students are badly lodged, eight in a small room, with a vile smell of oiled arms and appointments; each cavalry *aspirant* having the charge of his own equipment, saddle and bridle inclusive. Except in the single article of dress, the cadets of Ghizeh are in every respect far behind those of Tourah:

their costume, however, has been pushed one degree further towards the Frank ; their Mohammedan legs being actually installed in red Cossack trowsers, whilst their green jackets, with red collars, cuffs, and braiding, “Wellington” boots, and fixed spurs, are perfectly European. The only Arabic remains about them are the white cotton sash and abominable red skull-cap.

The students receive a rate of pay, varying according to their respective classes, from ten to fifteen piastres a month.

Strange as it may appear, particularly to the hussar and lancer officers of our service, this establishment contains a school for *trumpeters* ; who, except in point of pay, are as well treated as the candidates for cornetcies in the “crack” regiments of the Egyptian army ; and with whom (though they eat and sleep in different apartments) they associate on the most perfect footing of equality.

This is a natural consequence of the want of a gradation of ranks among the inhabitants of the country ; an evil, which, whilst it lasts,

must ever prevent Egypt attaining to any great degree of prosperity, or the troops acquiring the requisite degree of subordination that might place them on a footing with the soldiers of the disciplined armies of Europe. Education will eventually produce this graduated scale of society, by bringing forth talent, and occasioning an unequal distribution of wealth ; at present, its want is felt in every department of the state.

The other military schools of Egypt are at Boulak and Damietta. The former has only recently been established, and is intended exclusively for the education of cadets for the engineers (who have hitherto been prepared at Tourah) ; the other is for officers of infantry, and contains near three hundred students. I shall readily be excused from entering into a detailed account of these, and proceed to describe the medical college of Abou-zabel.

This truly useful establishment was originally a mere military hospital, to which, from its healthy situation, the sick were sent from

the neighbouring camp at Hankah. It now contains—besides an hospital on a magnificent scale—schools of medicine, anatomy, and chemistry, and one also of the veterinary art. The whole are on a scale, and in a degree of order, that would do credit to any country.

The present building was erected about ten years since, under the directions of Monsieur Clot (a Frenchman), lately created a Bey, and, at this moment, *Hakim Effendi* of Egypt. The hospital contains thirty-two wards, each capable of accommodating thirty patients. They are all on the ground-floor, lofty and well ventilated, but certainly too large.

The number of sick, at the time I visited the hospital, was about two hundred. The most common diseases were fevers, ophthalmia, &c. A separate ward is appropriated to the treatment of each disease, and every attention appeared to be paid to the cleanliness and comfort of the patients, of which they seemed to be fully sensible: indeed, the change that has taken place in the

opinions of the Arab population of Egypt, as to the utility of medicine and surgery, is one of the greatest victories that has been gained over their early prejudices. Not only are the soldiers become fully aware of their value, but the women, who formerly repelled all medical aid with the utmost contempt, now anxiously seek it both for themselves and children ; and, awful as have been the results of the late visitation of the plague, yet this change of feeling was most conspicuously seen during its continuance, and certainly tended to diminish its fatal effects.

The college contains one hundred and ninety students—all Arabs ; and has already supplied the military services with many surgeons, who, however slight their acquirements may be (and such as left the college in the first few years after its establishment could not be expected to be very learned), are certainly better than the totally uneducated quacks, who, until then, lent their assistance to thin the ranks of the Egyptian army.

The pupils are now taken at an earlier age than they were in the first instance, when the urgent want of medical men caused them to be admitted long after they had passed the period up to which Arabs (I may say Mus-sulmans) learn any thing. The complaint, therefore, which has very generally been made, that the surgeons hitherto furnished by the College of Abouzabel have done very little credit to that establishment, will not, it may be hoped, be urged—with justice—hereafter.

All the appointments to the medical departments, both of the navy and army, *must* (excepting in the case of Franks) be given from Abouzabel. The students are well lodged, fed, and clothed, and receive a rate of pay, varying, according to the classes into which they are divided, from thirty to one hundred and fifty piastres a month.

No expense appears to have been spared in furnishing the schools with chemical apparatus, anatomical drawings, models in wax, &c. The establishment is well supplied also

with subjects for dissection ; the moslem students suffering themselves to be persuaded that none but the bodies of Copts, Jews, or Franks, are submitted to their examination. The surgical instruments—infinite in variety, and models of French ingenuity—struck me as having been supplied on the principle of Peter Pindar's razors, and to be of very rude workmanship.

Within the court of the hospital is a botanical garden, and adjoining it is the veterinary college, which promises, under the able superintendence of Monsieur Hamond, to be of infinite service. From this school, each cavalry regiment of the Egyptian army has already been supplied with a veterinary surgeon. The number of pupils is one hundred and twenty. They are paid and treated the same as those of the medical college. The lecture room is fitted up as an amphitheatre, and is well supplied with anatomical subjects, models, and drawings.

The stable is only capable of receiving eighty horses—but there was not a third of

that number in it. Those I saw had mostly been sent from the army in Syria, were all entire horses, and many of them under treatment for a disease, to which I had always supposed the human race was alone subject. Monsieur Hamond informed me that to him, also, it was quite a new disease in the horse ; and one for the contracting of which he could not possibly account ; but stated that it assumed all the appearances of the same malady in the human frame, and gave way to the same remedies.

The Arab method of shoeing horses is extremely bad ; a plate of iron covers the entire foot, preventing all expansion, and pressing upon the frog, so as to lame the poor animal the moment he leaves his native sands or meadows, to travel upon a stony road. It is a Turkish prejudice that Monsieur Hamond seemed to think will be difficult to overcome. Far greater have, however, been conquered, since the establishment of the College of Abouzabel—for what barriers of ignorance and fanaticism have not given way to the

persevering industry of the present ruler of Egypt !

A great disadvantage under which this establishment at present labours is, that the professors are all foreigners, who, not understanding Arabic sufficiently to lecture in that language, are under the necessity of having their instructions translated. Now, besides the inconvenience that cannot but be felt by such a circuitous mode of communicating knowledge, the indispensable Dragoman must himself be a proficient in the languages of both the lecturer and the pupil, and should, moreover, have a very clear head—desiderata that are rarely to be met with, even in the most accomplished Dragomans.

One, indeed, (considered, too, a perfect master of his business) whom I had occasion to request to officiate as my interpreter, translated “Tell him to go to the devil.” “The Effendi says he is extremely sorry for what has happened.” Though fully expecting my brief and not over civil request would be instantly followed by the departure of the com-

plainant—if not for the place of destination I pointed out, at all events from the room in which our conference took place—yet, I was by no means prepared to witness the degree of satisfaction his countenance expressed on making his salaam—my surprise ceased only on learning afterwards what a turn had been given to my unpalatable words, in the polite mouth of Signor ——.

The inconvenience caused by the want of a common language between the instructor and his pupils will, in some degree, be overcome by the attention now paid at Abouzabel to the study of the French language, for which there are three professors.

The situation of the college is, perhaps, as good as any that could have been selected in Egypt. The students are sufficiently removed from the distractions of the capital (distant about seventeen miles) without being beyond the personal observation of the Viceroy—and in no country more than in Egypt is shown the truth of the Spanish proverb, that “*el ojo del amo, engorda al cavallo.*” *

* The Master's eye fattens the horse.

As an hospital, Abouzabel possesses the advantages of being on a good carriage-road, and of enjoying a freer circulation of air, than could be had in any part of the valley of the Nile; whilst, at the same time, it is slightly removed from the sandy desert, and elevated above the level of the Delta. From the baneful Khampseen wind, it would have been vain to seek for shelter any where in Egypt.

In every respect, this establishment does credit to Clot Bey, its projector and superintendent—however much envious Franks may sneer at his crimson trowsers and red morocco boots.

CHAPTER IX.

Voyage to Candia — A Health Establishment ill-adapted to the Establishment of Health — Fine View from the Lazaretto Mole — A Sicilian *Guardiano* — Description of the Island of Crete — Its Population — City of Candia — Mustapha Pasha — Difficulty in procuring Horses — Departure for Canea — Villages of Defnes, Evenginichi, and St. Tomas — View from the Summit of the Pass on the Eastern side of Mount Ida — Change in the appearance of the Country — Agius Decca — Ruins of Gortyna — Road to the Celebrated Cretan Labyrinth — Description of that “Wonder of the World” — Arrival at Apodoulo.

ON leaving Egypt, it had been the intention of my friend D—— and myself to proceed by way of Smyrna to Constantinople; but the appearance of the plague at both those places obliged us to alter our course, and Candia lying conveniently on our route to the Morea, we thought a few weeks might be agreeably passed in a visit to that interesting island. A homeward-bound English merchant brig presented a favourable opportunity for carry-

ing our wishes into effect, the skipper — tempted by a liberal offer—engaging to land us at any port in the island that he could most readily make.

An obstinate Etesian wind inflicted on us a tedious passage of nine days, in the course of which our eyes were successively regaled with distant views of the fine bold coasts of Rhodes and Scarpanto, and the magnificent mountain ranges on the *terra firma* beyond. We reached, at length, the port of Candia, and, on casting anchor, learnt, to our dismay, that a “health establishment” had recently been formed there; indeed, the display of bright yellow flags, iron tongs, palisadoes, and fumes of sulphur, sufficiently declared that it was in the full vigour of youth, and consequently held out the prospect of our being subjected to an unusually strict anti-pestilential surveillance. By way of consolation—or temptation—we were informed, however, that, if we determined on landing, seven days would be the extent of our sanatory imprisonment.

There was no help for it: we must either submit or proceed on to Malta, where a worse fate would have befallen us; we disembarked, therefore, and were forthwith conducted to the Lazaretto, in which we were assured every attention should be paid to our *comfort*. Nothing could be more libellous than that term, as applied to the accommodation the place afforded — namely, a dark unventilated cell, on the bare walls of which rheumatism, catarrh, pleurisy, and consumption were written in ever-trickling streams of water.

We had fortunately brought hammocks and a tent, which rendered us in a great measure independent of the unwholesome den allotted for our use; and brandy and tobacco, which enabled us to counteract the effects of its damp walls and the night dews. From the town we procured tables and chairs, as well as all things needful to satisfy our wants, and, on the whole, I am not sure but that I should prefer being again immured within the old Venetian galley docks of Candia, to incarceration in any other Lazaretto, of which, in

my peregrinative life, it has been my misfortune to be an inmate. There, at all events, we enjoyed a splendid view, a hustling scene, and a bracing sea breeze—our sanatory tether being, by special favour, extended so as to admit of our walking on one of the old moles by which the harbour of Candia is formed.

The view from thence is singularly fine. Looking over the clear blue surface of the harbour, which is studded with an infinite variety of vessels of the most fantastic rig, the spectator's eye dwells with interest on the ruined vaults of an extensive range of buildings, (the Venetian docks) the bold arches of which are reflected far back on the surface of the liquid mirror. Beyond the docks, rise the walls and houses of the city, their bright, but picturesque outlines, standing finely out from a dark mountain ridge, which runs east and west through the centre of the island, Ida's snow-capped peaks rising gracefully above all the other points of the chain.

When driven by the heat of the mid-day sun from basking in the enjoyment of this

lovely scene, or watching the constant bustle of the port, we retired to the shade of the vault appropriated to our use: in one corner of which was our cell. This also was one of a range of Venetian docks, but perfectly distinct from that before noticed. Here our amusement was to *draw out* the little ill-begotten man, appointed, with the Italian title of *Guardiano*, to watch over us. His tales, extremely amusing in themselves, were rendered doubly entertaining by the polyglot nature of his vocabulary. By birth a Sicilian, he had, during the threatened invasion of his native island by the French, served on board the flotilla of English gun-boats, and, in his intercourse with our tars had, as may readily be supposed, picked up many choice expressions.

His deeds of valour were dwelt upon with great complacency, but it was quite evident that *grog* had been mainly instrumental in getting up his courage to the sticking place, for he candidly confessed that the whizzing of the French shot and shells was particularly disagreeable until after the *second allowance*

had been issued—*neat*. After that—"G—d—, pull away;" "Viva il buon grog;" "Huzza for King George," &c., &c. He always spoke with great affection of the English nation; but, so identified was his love of us with that of his favourite liquor, that he never failed terminating his discourse with an eulogium on the virtues of "*quel buon grog*."

Next to his deeds of arms, our guardian's favourite theme was the wonderful talent and extraordinary influence of a certain *Monsieur Caporal*. Of the station and title of this important personage, we were doomed for a length of time to remain in ignorance, never being able to elicit more from the little man, than that Monsieur Caporal was, at that very time, on a visit at Candia, and was "*l'istesso come il Pasha*." In saying this, he used to shove out his little fin-like right arm and make a sidelong motion, as if it would be no disgrace to either to walk arm in arm with the other—repeating, always, "*l'istesso come il Pasha*." Monsieur Caporal, we at length learnt, was a French gentleman, at

the head of the board of health, and Monsieur Caporal, having come one afternoon to take a look at us through the palisades, was so well satisfied with our appearance, that he thought the health of the island would not be endangered by our release on the following morning, thereby kindly reducing our confinement to six days.

On once more becoming *free agents*, we repaired to the dwelling of our worthy consular agent, whose attentions had been unremitting whilst we were in the lazaretto, and who now, assuring us that not a lodging could be procured in the city, on any terms, insisted on our accepting apartments at his house.

The island of Crete, as it is still called by the Greeks, is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and thirty in its greatest breadth. It is divided into three districts, which bear the names of their principal towns, viz. Candia, Retimo, and Canea ; all of them sea-ports on the north side of the island. The first-named is the seat of go-

vernment, but Canea is the principal place of commerce.

A serrated range of mountains stretches from east to west, quite through the island, but this chain is not equally lofty and rugged throughout; indeed, in some places it loses altogether its asperity, and is cultivated to the very summit; but these mountain-passes are few, and the roads traversing them are, for the most part, cut off from each other by cragged impracticable peaks.

The mountains of the eastern division of the island never attain any very great elevation, but are rough and barren, fall precipitously to the sea, and present an unsafe and inhospitable shore. On stretching to the westward, the chain attains a great height, and we found most of its peaks still covered with snow in the month of June. It falls suddenly on approaching the centre of the island, leaving a wide gap between its western extremity and the rugged side of Mount Psitorite or Ida. The conical peak of this magnificent mountain towers above

all the other points of the island, and it may be considered almost an isolated mount, for another low pass, on its western side, divides it from the mountains of Levka, whilst, to the north and south, its wide-spreading roots are washed by the waves of the Mediterranean.

The mountains at the western extremity of Candia are yet more savage and impracticable than those already described, are very lofty, assuming the most fantastic and picturesque forms, and fall suddenly to the sea, presenting an indented and inaccessible coast.

The island is watered by no great rivers, but every little ravine in the furrowed sides of the different mountain ranges bears its own tribute of melted snow to the rich alluvial valleys lying at their feet. At the present day, however, they are mostly doomed to flow for no more useful purpose than to slake the thirst of the wild boar and ibex, with which the forests abound; or, perchance, that of some lonely traveller, led by curiosity

to visit this neglected garden : for such the greater part of the island is. On every side are to be seen villages razed to the ground, olive groves cut down, uprooted vineyards, and unweeded crops.

The population of Candia, from the raising of the standard of Greek independence to the present day, has been reduced from two hundred and eighty to one hundred thousand souls ! Of this number, the city of Candia alone contains from twelve to fourteen thousand. It stands near the site of the ancient Heraclea, and is defended by a formidable bastioned enceinte of Venetian workmanship, having lofty cavaliers, deep retired flanks, and orillons *à la Pagan* ; but, excepting the scarp wall of the body of the place (a beautiful specimen of the art, which still, in most places, presents a perpendicular height of fifty feet) the fortifications are in a very dilapidated state. The ditch is wide, partially choked up with ruins and overgrown with bushes, and the out-works are in a yet worse plight, and have not capacity enough to

cover the attackable points of the principal line.

The artillery with which the walls are armed is in a wretched condition; the iron guns being rusted and honeycombed—their carriages rotten. The brass pieces are in a more serviceable state, and there are four guns, of immense length, on the sea wall, which ships would find very troublesome acquaintances; though the state of their carriages would not permit of an interchange of civilities being long maintained on their parts.

The sea wall is not above twenty feet high, very irregular, and but badly flanked. It is protected in some measure by the nature of the beach, which is broken by ledges of flat rocks that stretch a considerable distance into the sea, rendering a debarkation extremely difficult if there be the least wind; otherwise, there are several spots of sandy beach, on which boats may be run without danger. The western mole of the harbour would, if properly armed, present a formidable

flanking fire along the greater part of the sea wall ; but, besides that the artillery is dismounted, the work itself is in a very crazy state.

The harbour is a mere basin, formed by two moles, which, bending towards each other, project about two hundred and fifty yards into the sea, and are defended, at their extreme points, by forts. That at the head of the western pier encloses a light-house, which is highly necessary to enable vessels arriving at night to discover the harbour ; for, such is the velocity with which an easterly current sets along the shore, that, if the entrance be missed by ever so little, great risk is incurred of shipwreck on the rocky coast beyond ; or, if that misfortune be avoided, a considerable delay must inevitably be experienced in working a vessel up against the stream.

The two castles that defend the harbour do not appear to be in a state to stand even the concussion that would be occasioned by the fire of their own guns. The channel

between them opens rather to the eastward, and is so very narrow as barely to allow two small vessels to pass, but the harbour is thereby completely sheltered against every wind. It is, at the present day, choked up with sand and the ruins of the old Venetian docks and arsenal, so that it serves only for vessels of one hundred tons burthen. Large vessels are obliged to anchor under the island of Standia ; abreast of, and about three miles distant from the harbour, where they are sheltered from the north-east wind, which prevails on this coast during the greater part of the year.

During my stay at Candia, the number of vessels in the port averaged about twenty. They were mostly Greek *misticos*, of from eighty to one hundred tons burthen. The basin is, however, capable of containing three times that number.

Under the Turkish Government, the export trade of the island was confined exclusively to the port of Candia ; but, since Mohammed Ali has assumed the sovereignty, the place

has been deprived of this privilege, and has, consequently, succumbed to its rival, Canea, which stands in a more productive country, and possesses a better harbour.

There are now but three gates to the city of Candia, (exclusive of that communicating with the harbour.) That of Canea opens to the west, near the sea shore—the “Portanuova” to the south, about the middle of the *enceinte*—and the Lazaretto-gate towards the east. Between this last and the sea, the ramparts are somewhat lower than elsewhere, and the multiplied outworks that cover the town on that side form so many stepping-stones into it. The ground there also favours an attack in other respects. The principal streets of the city are wide, but roughly paved; they are furnished with fountains and adorned with clumps of trees, which give them an agreeable and refreshing look. The houses are mostly low, seldom exceeding one story above the ground-floor, and are built with wide projecting roofs, which, being supported by wooden pillars, form a shady colonnade the whole length of the street.

The bazaars are good ; and there is an air of freshness and cleanliness extremely pleasing, after the narrow filthy lanes of Alexandria.

The city walls enclose a very considerable space ; but the upper or eastern part of the town, having sustained much damage from an earthquake a few years since, is almost deserted, and has altogether a different character to that just described—the few habitable streets that remain being narrow and unpaved—the houses lofty, more scattered, and interspersed with gardens.

Amongst the public buildings of the place, the most conspicuous are the barracks and hospital for the troops, the palace of the governor, and the metropolitan cathedral of the Greeks—the size of this last gives but an unfavourable idea of their devotion ; and its condition furnishes rather an argument against the “ *voluntary principle*.” The city contains another small place of worship for the Greeks—numerous mosques—and the remains of two Roman Catholic churches. One

of these has been repaired and converted into a mosque ; and it was the wish of Mohammed Ali, that the other should be fitted up as a public school, but the inhabitants of the island will not suffer their children to be instructed, fearing that by education they might be turned to some honest account, and sent out of the country.

The city is well supplied with water by means of two aqueducts ; but as these, in the event of a siege, are liable to be cut off, every house in the place is provided with a well ; the water found on the spot is not, however, by any means good. There are some old tanks belonging to the Government, but they are no longer serviceable. The market is tolerably well supplied with meat ; but poultry, fruit, and vegetables, are scarce, and appeared to us, who had just come from Egypt, particularly dear.

The introduction to one Turkish authority is so similar to that of another, that I will abstain from any account of our presentation to Mustapha Pasha (the Governor of the island),

further than by observing, that the pipes with which he honoured us were very handsome—the coffee very bad—that he is a young man of about two or three and thirty; very good looking; possesses, in an eminent degree, the *suaviter in modo* of all well bred Turks; is said to be very much given to break the precepts of the Koran, touching abstinence from wine; and is distinguished for the courage and moderation he evinced throughout the turbulent period of the insurrectionary war, when he commanded the garrison of Canea.

We were detained several days beyond the period we had fixed for our departure for Canea, by the difficulty experienced in procuring horses to convey ourselves and luggage; and it was only at last overcome by the interference of the Pasha, who kindly took upon himself to *order* the horse-owners to furnish us; answering for their safe return. We were obliged, nevertheless, to be satisfied with three; and to send the greater part of our baggage by water.

The direct road to Canea skirts the sea-coast, nearly the whole way; we determined to vary the scenery, by crossing to the southern side of the island, visiting, on our route, the ruins of Gortyna, and the celebrated labyrinth. Striking off, therefore, from the Canea road, about a mile from Candia, we commenced ascending, by a narrow valley, towards the mountain-pass, on the eastern side of Ida. Our road soon became a mere mule track, though here and there traces of an old Venetian pavé gave evidence of its having seen better days. The country is broken and steep—the soil light and thin, lying over a stratum of calcareous rock. The sides of the valleys are clothed with rank grass, which affords but poor food to the flocks of sheep and goats that are doomed to remain thin upon it. The crops of barley and corn in the bottoms—where a deep rich soil and flowing stream promise abundance—are scanty and neglected. Groves of olive trees are scattered sparingly along the way-side, and occasionally some stunted vines

force their young shoots through the entanglement of weeds, that overshadows and renders them fruitless: but, excepting the dwarf alders and ash growing on the edges of the rivulets, and, as we advanced further into the interior, a few mulberry trees, no other foliage presented itself, for many miles, from the walls of Candia.

In three hours and a half, we reached a wretched village, called Defnes—situated, like an eagle's nest, on the summit of a barren rocky ledge. It is now an abandoned heap of ruins; but was evidently, in former days, a flourishing place. The walls of the houses, solidly built of blocked stone; the well-turned arches, over the doors and windows; have indeed resisted the hand of the destroyer—but roofless, comfortless, blackened by the Moslem torch—in revenge for the vineyard uprooted the day before, by the Greek inmate of this now wretched abode—the place offers a most heart-rending example of the sad effects of civil war! and such is the picture of almost every village of Candia!

On leaving Defnes, the road enters a more fruitful country, and, at two miles and a half from that village, passes under the equally miserable one of Evegenichi. Its ruined church and roofless houses are extremely picturesque, and contrast finely (I mean in colour) with the darkly wooded ravine on the brink of which they stand ; where, flourishing in unpruned luxuriance, the fig, pomegranate, almond, and other fruit trees, vie with the stately oak and plane, that clothe the sides of the valley.

Ascending and crossing over the summit of the ridge on the right side of the ravine, we entered a wood of well-grown oaks ; and, thence, scrambling up the side of another steep chain—our path overhung with ivy-covered rocks, and shadowed by indigenous vines, clinging in graceful festoons to fruit trees of every variety—reached the village of St. Tomas.

The roofless and almost tenantless houses of this once thriving village are clustered round the foot of a rocky knoll, at the sum-

mit of the mountain ridge — its population reduced from three hundred to thirty families! The position of the place, the picturesque church, impending rocks, and luxuriant overshadowing groves, make it quite a scene of romance; and, from the top of the conical eminence, rising in the centre of the ruined village, a superb panoramic view is obtained. It lies nearly due south of the town of Candia, and is distant from it about fourteen miles.

From St. Tomas the road gradually ascends amongst vineyards and orchards, for something more than a mile, to the ruins of Meralibrisi, embosomed in groves of mulberry and apple trees; from thence, continuing still to ascend for another mile, it at length reaches the summit of the pass in the great mountain chain that runs through the island from east to west, where a fine view is obtained of the southern side of Candia. The rich vale of Massara extends far to the west, directing the eye to the Mediterranean, from the blue surface of which rises the rocky island of

Paximades, distant but a few miles from the shore; whilst, far beyond, the bolder outline of Gozo di Candia breaks the line of the horizon.

The face of the country presents a very different look from that which we had hitherto traversed. It is much less wooded. The valleys are wider, less tortuous, and easier of cultivation; and being, from their southern aspect, exposed to the full influence of the sun, their crops are sooner ripened than on the other side the mountains, so that we found nothing standing but a few neglected fields of corn and oats—scarcely, I should have conceived, worth the trouble of gathering in. The greater part of the country had not, however, been cultivated for many a year. Villages are scattered throughout the plains, and the olive groves that once formed the chief source of the riches of the country still grow round them; but the hands that tilled the fields, and pruned and rendered the trees productive, have been swept off, and the fertile country will soon assume the appearance of a wilderness.

The road, now little more than a rough stony track, descends to Gurguliete, seven miles from St. Tomas; from whence, crossing another steep ridge, and traversing a rocky defile, overhung by precipitous cliffs of dark grey marble, it enters the celebrated valley of Massara—extending, east and west, nearly ten miles. Near the head of the valley, and distant about three miles from the last named village, is that of Agius Decca—a dirty place, containing some sixty or eighty ill-built houses, shaded by a few fruit trees. It stands near the site of the ancient city of Goltyna, which, judging from the vast extent of ruins, must have stretched for several miles down the valley. We found the walls of the village church yet standing, as also some marble pillars that once supported its roof. The floor is paved with slabs of the same and breccia verde, which, I imagine, must have been quarried from the neighbouring mountains.

The Capo of the village, a Greek, received us into his house, or rather into his garden,

where we pitched our tent—and asked us, mysteriously, in the few words of Italian of which he was master, whether we were English or French; saying, on my acknowledging to belong to the former locomotive nation, “*Inglez! buono*”—immediately putting my assertion to the test, by asking for a knife and fork out of our canteen. He volunteered his services as guide and Cicerone to the labyrinth, which we purposed visiting next morning, and, on the plea of laying in a provision of twine, tapers, &c., extracted a sum of money in advance, which would have purchased all the hemp and wax in the village. His own stores, however, furnished the required articles, which had already been used and paid for a hundred times over by former travellers.

We set out at day-break, and, at about half a mile from the village, reached a bridge thrown across a crystal stream that gushes out of a ravine in the wide-spreading roots of Mount Ida. On the margin of the torrent stands an extremely picturesque ruin, over-

shadowed by a group of wide-spreading plane trees. A dilapidated bridge affords a passage across the stream, which, however, is fordable at most seasons of the year. The surface of the plain, on the left, is strewn as far as the eye can reach with fragments of marble columns, building stones, and ruins; the remains of Gotyna.

At about a mile and a half from our sleeping-place is the village of Avenuson, which is a much more inviting *locale* than Agius Decca, being embosomed in groves of fruit trees, and watered by a limpid rivulet. Soon after passing this village, the pathway to the labyrinth strikes off to the right, ascending the steep mountain, on the acclivity of which this wonder of the world is situated. It requires a scramble of three quarters of an hour to reach it; for, although but a short distance from the road, it is elevated at least six hundred feet above the plain, and the pathway is obstructed by rocks and bushes.

The entrance cannot be discerned until within one hundred paces of it. It faces the

south, and is evidently one of the natural caverns so common in the island, and indeed in the sides of all mountains of the same geological character.

From this *vestibule*, a passage of considerable width, but obstructed by huge blocks of rock, leads for some distance into the heart of the mountain, when, turning sharply to the left, and diminishing suddenly to a width and height of between four and five feet, it continues in that direction for about eighty paces. This inconvenient *boyau* is the only passage in the labyrinth that obliges one to bend the back. At its termination, we arrived at a kind of star chamber, (I mean a chamber in the form of a star), from which passages branch off in all directions, leading to other chambers, where new radii conduct still further into the interior of the mountain, forming, indeed, a very intricate net-work, of which some idea may be formed by those who are acquainted with the purlieus of St. Giles's, by merely imagining a succession of subterranean *seven dials*.

The roof of all these numerous passages and chambers is one uninterrupted even surface, for though they differ materially in height, yet this irregularity is chiefly caused by the greater or less accumulation of stones and rubbish heaped upon the floors, over which the adventurer has sometimes to make his way at the risk of his neck. Some of the chambers, however, are entered by steps, the floors being sunk, but even of these the roof is invariably on the same hanging level.

The passages are sufficiently complex and tortuous to puzzle any one who visits them for the first time, but to persons accustomed to thread their mazes, like our guides, I should say the huge hanks of twine and extravagant supply of torches and wax-tapers were called for merely by the "*charlatanerie*" of their profession; and I feel persuaded that, bearing in mind the before-noticed peculiarity in the formation of the roof of this extraordinary place, any one provided with plenty of wax candles, presence of mind, a box of lucifers, and the organ of locality, ought to find his

way out of it. The direction of the chain of hills is east and west ; their composition a soft limestone, disposed in thin parallel strata, underlying slightly north. Recollecting, therefore, that the roof is always the under part of the same stratum—it is clear that all the passages which are on an inclined plane parallel to that of the roof must run north and south—whilst those which are level must be in the direction of the range of hills, and cannot, therefore, lead to the entrance, facing the south, which must, consequently, be sought for, by attaining the very highest level of the passages on an inclined plane.

One passage that we followed, with every appearance of caution on the part of our guides, brought us, after divers windings, to a small chamber, of which the roof having given way to the constant action of a trickling stream, and formed numerous stalactites, has assumed the appearance of the interior of a Gothic spire. The water is constantly dripping, and some charitable person has furnished the chamber with an earthenware

vase to collect the stream and enable the traveller to quench his thirst. This is the only part of the labyrinth that we found uncomfortably damp, and in no place was the air hot or disagreeable.

Another passage conducted us to a large chamber, which we were informed was the *ne plus ultra* in that direction—I think our guides called it the hall of sacrifice. The venturesome persons who, by the aid of flambeaux and twine, penetrate “thus far into the bowels of the earth,” consider themselves entitled to lay claim to immortality by inscribing their names on the wall. Amongst others were those of Mustapha Pasha, and of a French lady, Madame C——, whom her tender husband described as being “enceinte de 5 mois.”

The purpose for which this labyrinth was formed is yet a matter of conjecture. There is not the slightest indication of its having been a place of burial, and the narrow entrance is very much against the supposition of its having been a stone quarry — indeed it

is quite unreasonable to suppose that the builders of Gotyna should have come here for stone when they had plenty of the same kind much nearer at hand.

It most probably was a natural cavern, which served in early ages as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of the plain below, against the marauding visits of their more powerful neighbours, and thus came to be enlarged to contain their stores of grain as well as their families, and, finally, to assume its present regular appearance.

Some doubts have been started as to this cavern being the famed labyrinth from which Theseus was delivered by the contrivance of the love-stricken Ariadne. Far be it from me to throw the shadow of a doubt on the truth of a tale of such true love, but I needs must confess that the *locale* but ill agrees with the account handed down to us of the Minotaur's abode, for veracious Greek authors state that it had an opening on the sea shore—now this certainly never possessed such a back-door, for it is, at least, six miles from the coast.

On leaving the labyrinth, we descended the mountain in the best way we could to regain the road in the valley, from which we had previously struck off, as by it we purposed gaining the pass on the western side of Mount Ida and proceeding to Retimo. The road soon quits the plain, inclining slightly to the right, and traverses a broken country, of which the gravelly surface is thickly clad with gorse, heather, and aromatic shrubs of infinite variety. On attaining the summit of a barren ridge, an agreeable view burst upon us. The beautiful village of *Faneromegnie*, nestled in the bottom of the ravine, lies below, shadowed by magnificent carob trees, and encompassed by orchards, bending under the weight of their own riches. From thence, a level country stretches all the way to the sea, but the road, when arrived at within a mile of the coast, inclines again to the right, keeping parallel to the eastern shore of the Bay of Messara, and crosses the beds of several mountain torrents. The soil of the plain is red clay and gravel, and it is covered with aromatic plants that give out a delightful fragrance.

On approaching Clima, which is about twelve miles from Agius Decca, the country again becomes hilly and wooded with carob, olive, and other trees, intermixed with patches of corn. The village stands on the acclivity of a mountain, and is miserable in the extreme. The road zig-zags up the side of the steep ridge beyond Clima, and in the valley, on the reverse side, reaches as far as Santa, a wretched ruined hamlet that affords shelter to some sixty or eighty souls. Crossing another steep chain, and leaving on the right the picturesque village of Sanota, which nestles in the intervening valley, we passed a mass of ruins, once known as the village of Dafiaco, and, traversing a wild and partially wooded valley, arrived at Apodoulo, where a few decent houses, but more especially a litter of sucking pigs, tempted us to stay for the night. We sent our Greek servant forthwith in search of the owner of the unclean little beasts—our christian appetites craving strangely at a sight with which our eyes had not been feasted, during the whole of our residence in Egypt.

Apodoulo is about twenty miles from Agius Decca. It is agreeably situated on a knoll, projecting from the western side of Mount Ida, and commands a fine view over a wide and deep lateral valley, that stretches many miles into the interior of the island. The accommodation it offered was poor, but our tent rendered us independent of house-room, and our squeaker, placed on two blocks of stone, was soon crackling over a blazing fire ; bread, fruit, and eggs we were able to procure in the village, and wine we had brought with us from Candia — for, whilst there, we had ascertained, that not a drop could then be obtained in the interior of the island.

CHAPTER X.

Journey Continued—Convent of Asomatos—Mountain Pass—Beautiful Scenery—Execrable Road—Villages of Keriana, Adil, and Maroulas—Arrival at Retimo—Description of that Town—Citadel—Population—Trade—Provincial Council—Departure for Canea—Dangerous Road—Armyro—Mineral Waters—Splendid Scenery—Neo Horio—The Capo's House—The Ridiculous and the Sublime—Day of Waterloo—Bay of Suda—Arrival at Canea—Description of the Town—Great Increase of its Population.

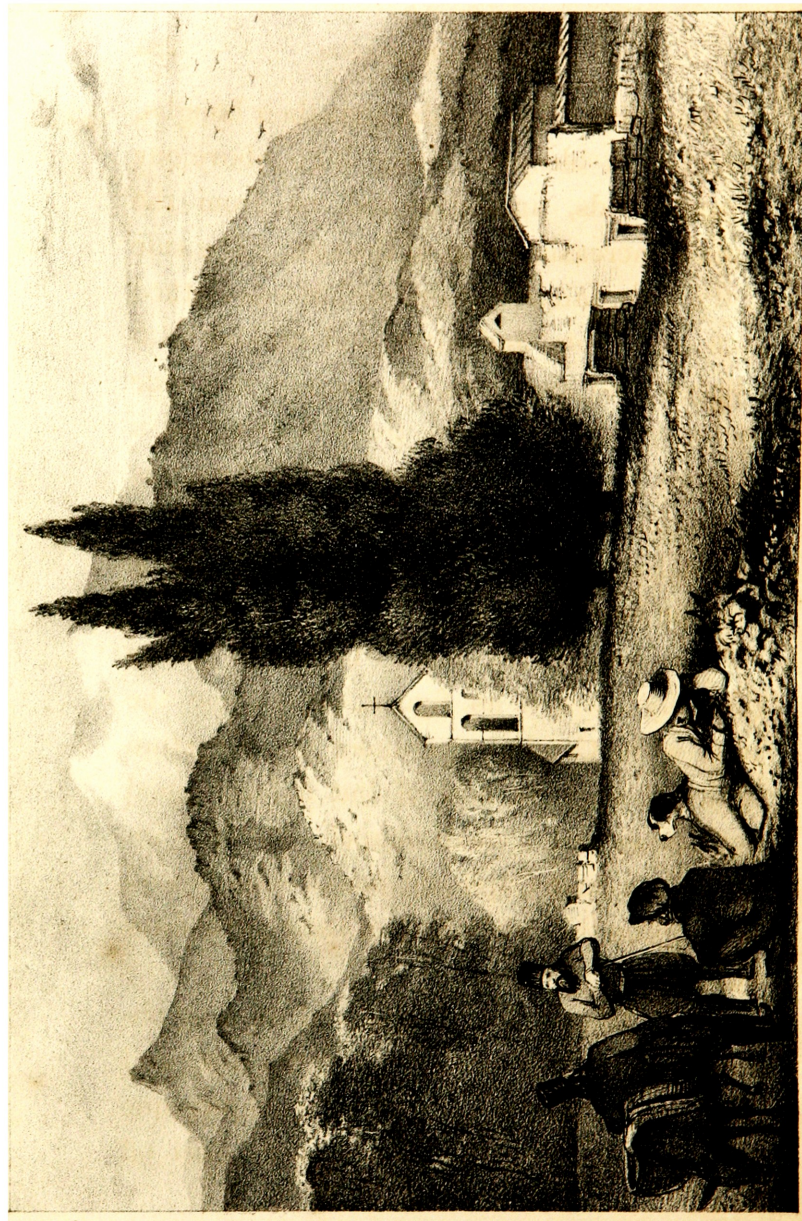
WE resumed our journey on the following morning as the sun first broke upon the snowy peaks of Ida. The early part of our ride was over a rough and barren country, the soil of which, mostly gravel and ferruginous clay, is friendly to the growth of no other forest trees than the carob and wild olive. From the underwood, our dogs sprang a great many partridges, of the common brown kind, and our guides told us that wild

boars are very plentiful in that part of the island.

Our road conducted us across a succession of very rugged ridges and deep ravines, that furrow the side of Psilorite. Near the head of one of these dells—yet screened from the sun's rays by the lofty summit of the mountain—is the large village of Stenefavri, and, a little farther on, we passed that of Isigiani, situated about a quarter of a mile from the road, on the left.

After having travelled about five miles from Apodoulo—our sleeping place—we descended to the bed of the great valley mentioned in the preceding chapter, the water of which flows to the southern sea of Candia, and into which the numerous minor ravines that we had previously traversed finally open.

The valley presents a wide pebbly bed, but is so thickly covered with myrtle and oleander, that the windings of the transparent stream which waters it cannot be followed, even with the eye. So luxuriant, indeed, is



Printed by T. J. Hamerton

MOUNTIDA & CONVENT OF ASOMATOS.

Published by H. Colburn & Co. Marlboro Street.

Printed by C. Bulmer & Co.

the growth of these shrubs, that their boughs, loaded with blossoms, hung high above our horses' heads, and screened us from the rapidly increasing heat of the sun. The side of the mountain range on our left was clothed with corn, vines, and olives, and studded with villages and orchards, rendering the ride perfectly beautiful. In three hours and a half, we reached the convent of Asomatos, and—though yet early in the day—were induced, by its lovely situation, to make a halt of some hours.

The convent is much fallen in estate (literally as well as figuratively) since the time when Candia was under the Venetian rule. It consists now of but a few ruined out-houses and a small chapel. Its only inmates are three Capuchin monks, who depend entirely on the cultivation of their garden for subsistence.

From the garden, a splendid view is obtained of the mountain range to the east; and the little white chapel, with its picturesque belfry, occupying the foreground, is set off

to great advantage, by a rich belt of foliage that springs up behind. In the court-yard, in front of the chapel, are some of the finest cypresses I ever saw.

The monks, truly *good souls*, (Ἀσώματος—incorporeal) volunteered to provide for our *bodily* wants by furnishing breakfast—an offer which our early ride made us accept without much solicitation, although our *cold pig* (at which they cast most longing glances) rendered us in some measure independent of their hospitality. Coffee, milk, bread, eggs, and fruit, were quickly produced, as also wine and vinegar—all, they assured us, the produce of the convent lands. With respect to the first article on the list, there was evidently some little mistake; the two last, I gave the worthy monks full credit for having manufactured—and they were clearly the production of the same barrel.

The dress of this religious order is very peculiar; it is altogether of black. The jacket and shaksheer are of cotton, made in the usual Greek fashion, but bound round

the waist by a broad black leather belt. The legs are encased in strong leather boots, or, more properly, leggings, sewn on to shoes. A high stand-up fur cap completes the singular costume.

Resuming our journey in the afternoon, an ascent of a couple of miles brought us at length to the head of the valley, where a rocky pass presents itself between the two great mountain ridges of Psilorite and Levka. The view, looking back, is very fine, and the pass itself is wild and beautiful, being thickly clothed with dwarf oak and myrtle, shadowed with carob and wild vines, and overhung by precipitous rocks.

After descending a little way on the north side of the pass, the road enters a wooded ravine, in which the varied foliage of the oak, plane, olive, and arbutus, spreading out in unrestrained luxuriance, presents an impenetrable barrier to the sun's rays—whilst, beneath their shade, the ground is clad with fern, heather, and mastic. A spring of icy cold water, that issues gurgling from

the rocks bordering the road, invites the traveller to stay his horse, moisten his parched lips at the rustic fount, and enjoy the rich sylvan beauty of the spot.

The scenery undergoes a rapid change on emerging from the wood, when the northern side of the island again opens to the view.

A fine valley lies at the spectator's feet, its sides covered with the brilliant verdure of long-neglected vineyards, backed by rocky cliffs, its mouth apparently closed by the lofty serrated ridge of Levka, still capped with its winter covering of snow. In two hours, we arrived at the summit of a mountain, much higher than the pass we had previously traversed, from whence the northern sea of Candia first bursts upon the view. The intervening country is rugged and barren, and the valleys are not so abundantly watered as those on the south side of the island. The village of Acades is seen just below the road, which winds to the left, keeping along the summit of the ridge, and, in three-quarters of an hour, reaches

Mesi, around which we found a few corn-fields.

A little farther on, but situated off the road—to the left—is the village of Cavous. A horrible road commences here, on the side of which—the first half mile having been safely got over—a mosque, covering the tomb of some Mohammedan santon, presents an opportunity of offering up prayers, for a safe passage over the portion that yet remains to be traversed. The way winds down the side of a rugged mountain, and is marked only by the absence of furze and briars, the rest of the steep bank being thickly covered with them. There is no attempt at *road-making*: a natural pavement, rising in sharp pyramidical points, between which our horses could hardly find a footing, is apparently considered quite sufficient for every purpose that a road is required in Candia. I had travelled over mountain roads in Greece, in Switzerland, yea, and in Spain—where a *camino de perdices* is an awful thing—but never before did I ever meet with any thing so bad, called a road, as

this : the main communication between the fields where the riches of the country grow, and the harbour whence they are shipped for exportation. It can be likened only to the inside of a shark's lower jaw.

Making a vow never again to grumble at the payment of tolls on an English turnpike-road—should I be fortunate enough to live to see one—I gave my horse his head, and abandoned myself to reflection. My thoughts naturally recurred to Egypt, and rested with gratitude on Mohammed Ali, who, by the establishment of the school of surgery, at Abouzabel, had qualified—as I fondly hoped—the assistant Galen of the regiment quartered at Retimo, to set a broken limb in a case of emergency.

Fortunately no opportunity of putting his capability to the proof occurred, as, after sundry stumbles, we reached the village of Keriana in sound skins. It is situated nearly at the foot of the hill, and is distant about two miles from the sea, the intervening country being gently undulated, and covered with fine crops of corn and plantations of olive-trees.

After traversing Keriana, the road inclines slightly to the west, sloping down towards the coast; and, in about a mile, reaches the village of San Demetrio, the church of which is an interesting ruin. A short distance farther on is Adil, a place with more claims to be called a town than any we had seen since leaving Candia; and, between it and Maroulas, the country is very productive in corn and oil. The latter village is finely situated on the left of the road, some little way up the side of the mountain ridge we had descended. About half a mile beyond it, we rejoined the direct road from Candia to Retimo, which keeps along the coast on the north side of Mount Ida.

After crossing a fine stream of water, we arrived at Perivoglia—the *gardens* of Retimo—a long, straggling, ruined village; and, in another half hour, were at the gates of the town. The latter part of the road (from Adil) is very good. The total distance from the convent of Asomatos is about fifteen miles, and occupied us *six hours*.

Retimo stands on a low cape that, jutting about three-fourths of a mile into the sea, terminates in a rocky eminence, which is crowned by the citadel. From the foot of the hills to the town—a distance of three hundred yards—the isthmus gradually diminishes in breadth from one thousand two hundred to five hundred yards: and here an old embattled wall, of Turco-Venetian construction, extends across it diagonally from sea to sea. The western part of the line is thus, in military phrase, *refused*, on account of a high conical knoll, that stands out from the hills in front of the place, which would favour an attack on that side, if the walls were advanced nearer to it.

There are two gateways in the land front, one near the sea-shore on the eastern side of the isthmus, the other towards the centre of the line. The wall is about twelve feet thick, loop-holed for musquetry, and irregularly flanked by artillery. From both the extremities of the line, slightly built walls retire along the sea-shore, until they meet the pre-

craggy cliffs of the citadel-hill, and so complete the *enceinte* of the place. The whole town thus lies between the land front and the citadel, and, consequently, that work, though on very commanding ground, is not in a situation to assist much in the defence of the fortifications on the land front of the place. It, however, covers it most effectually from an attack on the sides washed by the sea. It is a Venetian work, presenting towards the town three well planned, though irregularly, bastioned fronts, whilst sea-wards the walls follow the sinuosities of the rocks, which are high, and difficult of access; and are yet further strengthened by ledges of shelving rocks, which jut a considerable distance into the sea. The only advanced work of the citadel is a kind of demi-lune, covering the curtain of the eastern-most front, in which is the gate. The walls are thirty-five feet high, and rest upon the rocky foundation afforded by the hill itself, which, being elevated about fifty feet above the town, most completely commands it.

There was not a single piece of artillery mounted that would stand three rounds of firing. The mortars could not be fired at all. The front towards the town, indeed, was armed principally with petareros. The guns are all brass, and towards the sea there are some very long pieces. The tanks and magazines are no longer serviceable, and the citadel altogether is in a very unhealthy state. It is inhabited (for it contains numerous streets and mosques) by five hundred Turks, who carefully and prudently exclude all of Grecian blood from their stronghold. It is garrisoned, however, by a detachment of Egyptian troops, a battalion of whom is constantly quartered at Retimo.

The population of the town, including the inhabitants of the citadel, is estimated at eight thousand souls ; the greater portion are Turks, who employ themselves principally in agriculture ; but the place contains also some tanneries and silk-looms on a small scale, which, likewise, are worked by the hands of the faithful. The Greek inhabitants, amount-

ing, perhaps, to one-third of the whole population, are fishermen, mariners, and shopkeepers.

The town covers a considerable space of ground, and is well built and clean. The streets are wide, straight, well paved, and abundantly supplied with water. The houses, except those on the outskirts, are lofty and good; the bazaars well furnished, and provisions cheap. The place is supplied with water by means of an aqueduct, but that of the wells is excellent.

The trade of Retimo has fallen off greatly, from the neglected state of the port; for the mole forming the harbour has nearly disappeared, and sand and mud have accumulated to such a degree within it, that no vessels of more than thirty tons burden can now shelter there. Steps, however, are taking to deepen the harbour and repair the mole, at the head of which a small light-house has been erected. Large vessels can anchor off the eastern side of the town, sheltered from the north-west wind, which prevails on this coast nine months

in the year; but a sudden change would oblige them to go to sea immediately.

The trade of the place is principally with the Morea, and the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, exporting oil and soap, and taking in exchange corn and oats.

The garrison consists of a battalion of the Nizam, varying in strength from six to eight hundred men. Its colonel is Governor of the place for the time being. The province is governed in civil matters, by a Council composed of a president and twelve members; and holds its sittings at Retimo. But the rule laid down for the composition of these assemblies has here been unavoidably broken through, from the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of persons who could *or would* read and write, amongst the *rural* population of the different districts. The members of the Provincial Council of Retimo are, consequently, almost all Mohammedans and inhabitants of the city itself.

The road to Canea skirts the sea-beach for the first half hour after quitting Retimo; it

then ascends the rocky cliffs that for the succeeding five miles border the coast, along which a paved road has been formed, presenting an obstacle that one would conceive had been purposely and cunningly devised to impede the march of an enemy upon the fortress. It winds up and down continually, at times being neither more nor less than a steep staircase, at others skirting some awful precipices, which threaten annihilation in the event of a false step.

Our horses were good and tolerably fresh, so that we managed to scramble safely over this work of art, accomplishing the task in something under two hours and a half; but deeply to be commiserated is the luckless wight who arrives here on a jaded hack, after riding from Canea! For the benefit of future travellers, it is earnestly to be hoped that some Mohammedan M'Adam may arise to amend the ways of the island, and conduct Mohammed Ali's Candiotte subjects by more safe and less tortuous paths, from one town to another. On reaching the foot of the hill,

we found an unfortunate gentleman "*in articulo mortis*," from a fall he had just had *with* his donkey.

The hills are furrowed by numerous deep fissures, across which the solid Venetian bridges continue, fortunately, to be in tolerable repair ; but the consciousness of their vicinity, and of the dilapidated state of their parapet walls, would not add to the pleasurable sensations of the traveller, should he chance to be benighted. On a steep crag, on the left of the road—about mid-way—is perched the almost *inaccessible* village of Ierame ; but its flickering lights would but bewilder the night wanderer, for they would not serve to guide him up the rugged mountain path, and the village is just sufficiently distant to be out of reach of the human voice.

The view before us offered some compensation for what was under our feet—the glassy bay of Armyro, a richly-wooded coast beyond, and splendid mountains in the distance. We rejoiced on again reaching the sea-beach ; and, pushing our horses into a

canter, arrived at the end of about two miles (eight from Retimo) at a fine clear stream of water, that issues from a dark rocky fissure in the cliffs, bounding the coast. On the edge of the chasm stands the village of Episcopi; and, at its gorge, are the picturesque ruins of a bridge, which probably has been destroyed by some unusual flow of the mountain torrent.

From thence, a deep sandy beach extends for about six miles; whilst a plain, planted with vines and corn, and studded with hamlets and farm-houses, stretches some distance inland. On the coast stands a *Casa forte*, intended, in times past, as a defence against pirates, but now dismantled. Soon after passing it, the road, leaving the sea-shore, inclines to the left, and enters a narrow valley, opening to the eastward, when we reached Armyro, distant fifteen miles from Retimo.

The place consists merely of a few farm houses, scattered over the sides of the steep hills, bounding the valley, and two castellated buildings, which occupy the narrowest part

of the defile. It takes its name from the numerous springs of mineral waters that rise in its vicinity, and which, in former days, were held in great repute. Perhaps, by some vagary of fashion, they may yet eclipse the fame of Spa, Selzers, and Langen Schwalbach. They certainly are copious enough to cleanse the biliary ducts of all the valetudinarians in Christendom. Collecting immediately in one body, they form a deep and rapid stream, which it is *physically* impossible to pass; whilst the noise they make in gushing from the side of the mountain is heard at a considerable distance, resembling that of the fall of a cataract.

The road advances by the right side of the valley; and, after making a slight detour, to avoid the stream, by crossing the springs near their source, passes close under the walls of one of the castles, being hemmed in on the other side by a steep hill. The valley is watered by another fine stream, which takes its rise in the mountains more to the westward, and, after passing between the two

castles, receives the tribute furnished by the salt springs, and discharges itself into the bay of Armyro. The village of Agiromoun stands on the acclivity of the mountain, on the left bank of the stream.

This must have been a very formidable pass in the olden time, when artillery could not be moved about with the ease it is at present; and even now it is a military post of some importance, from its commanding the only practicable road between the landing place at the mouth of the river and Canea.

The valley is extremely beautiful. The machiolated walls of the old castles, overhung with ivy, peer out from amidst a grove of wide-spreading carob and walnut trees; the foaming torrent, dashing impetuously over its rugged bed, washes their feet: beyond are steep hills, covered to their very summits with vineyards and orchards, and yet above these rise the snow-clad peaks of the lofty mountains of Sphackia.

About three miles from Armyro, we arrived

at some water-mills, where a picturesque old bridge carries the road to the left bank of the stream. The view looking back is yet more beautiful than that described. The glassy Mediterranean lies apparently at the spectator's feet, reflecting the successive ranges of grey mountains that, between Retimo and Candia, stretch far into its bosom; the splendid peaks of Ida rise gracefully above all the intermediate ridges, casting their broad shadows over the eastern part of the island. The richly-wooded slopes of the valley, warmed by the rays of a setting sun, formed a natural frame to this enchanting picture; equal, perhaps, to any thing in Europe.

On approaching the head of the valley, it contracts once more, so as to become a mere defile; and, on gaining the summit of the ridge, another magnificent view bursts upon the sight, looking over the western portion of the island. The day was too far gone, however, to admit of our enjoying it in perfection; and, indeed, soon after crossing the mountain, night overtook us, our guide missed

his way, and we were doomed to wander in the dark for upwards of an hour—scrambling over a most execrable collection of blocks of stone, which our conductor persisted in calling a road. At length, we got sight of a lime-kiln, and, making our way to it, induced one of the workmen to guide us to Neo Horio, where we were glad to find our baggage safely arrived, having been sent on from Retimo early in the day.

We had not left Retimo ourselves until past mid-day, and had, consequently, been exposed to a scorching sun during the whole afternoon. The slow pace at which we had been condemned to travel, from the badness of the road, had also wearied us exceedingly — although the distance we had travelled hardly exceeded twenty-three miles — so that, tired and feverish, we were glad enough to throw ourselves down on our carpets in the Capo's house, and be spared the trouble of pitching our tent.

The place allotted for our dormitory was a kind of loft, formed by some loose boards,

spread across the rafters of one corner of the village chief's large but only room, the ascent being effected by means of a ladder. To this snug retreat our host, with his prolific help-mate, and some half dozen of their progeny, were in the nightly habit of congregating, and, I dare say, of sleeping soundly ; but I, alas ! closed my eyes in vain ; Morpheus was *blind* to my intreaties, and never did I pass a more miserable night. The heat of the place was excessive, for, independently of the foul and heated atmosphere occasioned by our exaltation above the family and domestic animals, sleeping on the ground-floor below, we discovered that directly beneath us was a huge oven, wherein a week's consumption of bread was baking for the whole village. Meanwhile, myriads of insects, of divers kinds, ceased not for an instant puncturing my unfortunately tender skin — pleased, apparently, like human kind, to vary the sameness of “*toujours perdrix*” — and, no doubt, relishing the “*grand mousseux*” state of my blood, after the flat, sluggish stream

which flowed in the veins of the fat phlegmatic Capo.

It was the night of the 17th of June ;—from the sublime to the ridiculous “ *il n’y a qu’un pas* ; at least, we have the authority of Napoleon for saying so ; whilst lying in this unenviable state, exposed to the reiterated attacks of these persevering enemies, I looked as impatiently for the *dawn* of the anniversary of the *glorious* day, as England’s immortal captain is erroneously said to have invoked *its close*, or the arrival of the Prussians.

I say *erroneously*, because I feel persuaded that, though the unconquered chief might possibly at one time have despaired of obtaining the complete fruits of the combination planned by his master mind, yet that he never for an instant felt the dread implied by that oft-quoted invocation. If, from any fault, not his, the Prussians had failed altogether in executing the movement of concentration prescribed for them, though the victory would, probably, have thereby been less brilliant, yet the British general knew

too well the character of his soldiers, to mistrust their ability to hold the ground he had so judiciously chosen for them.

The well-contested field has, however, been described by far abler pens than mine, and has little to do with Candia. I feel confident, nevertheless, that this digression will be pardoned on the morning of the “Day of Waterloo,” at least, by all *good* and *true* Britons, whose bosoms still—spite of the lapse of years—cannot but feel a glow of pride on the anniversary of a victory which, from the importance of its results to the human race, stands unequalled in the annals of the world—a victory compared to which the glorious days of Cressy, Agincourt, and Blenheim sink into insignificance, and even a shade is cast on those of Marathon and Pharsalia.

I return, unwillingly, to the mosquitoes, and other un-nameable phlebotomizing insects, that inhabit the sleeping-place of the chief magistrate of Neo Horio; from which, seeing no hope of deliverance, but in the

coming day, it may easily be conceived with what joy I greeted the crowing of a cock, perched but a few feet above my head, and who, during the night, had several times given me notice of the vicinity of himself and hareem, by obliging me to drag my carpet into a corner.

We lost no time in awaking the still snoring occupants of the lower region, when, after performing our ablutions, and mounting our steeds, we were glad enough to get into a purer atmosphere, and to depart, even without breakfast.

The road descends into a fertile valley, watered by a clear stream, and, after continuing along it for about a mile, ascends the ridge bounding it on the western side, by a rugged, stony track, leaving a small village within pistol-shot, on the left. In an hour and a half (or a distance of four miles and a half) we arrived at the brink of some stupendous cliffs that fall precipitously to the bay of Suda. The road now inclines to the left, skirting along and looking down upon the mirror-

like expanse, whilst, at the same time, it is itself overhung by a range of lofty mountains.

The scenery is very grand, and the bay as fine, perhaps, as any in the world, being capacious enough to contain the entire navy of Great Britain, and so situated as to be sheltered from every wind. It stretches inland six miles, and is about three miles across, but, at its mouth, the width is compressed to little more than a mile; and, towards the centre of this narrow channel—but rather within the bay—are two low rocky islands, the larger of which, occupied by the little fortress of Suda, completely commands the entrance.

The bay opens to the east, but is screened, in that direction, by a high promontory, which, jutting some distance into the northern sea of Candia, serves as a breakwater to the harbour. To the north and south, the bay is sheltered by ranges of mountains, but from its western extremity a comparatively level country stretches all the way to Canea.

The road is execrable during the first two miles of the descent, but, after passing a ruined castle, it improves; and, in three hours' time from Neo Horio, we reached the head of the Bay of Suda; from thence, over the level country to Canea, the road is very good, even admitting of the passage of carriages. The soil of the plain is light and sandy, and is covered with unpruned olive trees and scanty crops of corn. It is abundantly watered, but the means of irrigation are totally neglected, so that stagnant pools have been formed along the courses of the streams, round which a rank vegetation has sprung up, rendering the tract extremely insalubrious. Numerous villages are scattered along the foot of the hills, bounding the plain to the south, but some distance from the road.

We came very suddenly upon Canea, which is sheltered to the east by a low hill, and is about twelve miles distant from Neo Horio—from Retimo thirty-five miles. It stands on the site of the ancient Cydonia, but covers only a small portion of the ground occupied

by that city. Its present walls were constructed by the Venetians, but they are far inferior to those of Candia, both in regard to elevation and disposition. The general lines of the fortifications describe an irregular quadrilateral figure, of which the longest side is towards the sea; the three others present bastioned fronts, and are furnished with ditches and cavaliers; but, excepting the eastern curtain of the south front, are unprotected by any kind of outworks. There a small demi-lune serves as a *couvre-porte* to the only carriage entrance to the town. The walls are tolerably well covered, however, by the height of the counterscarps of the ditches, from the crest of which (for there is no covered way) the ground falls in a gentle slope towards the country. The walls are in a tolerable state of repair, and vary in height from twenty to thirty feet. The ditches have been converted into gardens and sheep-folds.

Towards the sea, the fortifications have in great part been demolished, and replaced by houses. The harbour is tolerably spacious;

it is formed by a long narrow mole, built on the prolongation of the western face of the north-east bastion of the town, and parallel to and extending nearly the whole length of the sea-wall. About midway on it are the remains of an old castle, which terminates in a circular tower, also in ruins; indeed the whole work is in a wretched state, and is indebted for its present existence to a ledge of sunken rocks, that serves both for a foundation and breakwater.

The entrance to the harbour is between the ruined tower and an elevated battery; the termination of the western fortifications of the town. The channel is deep but narrow, and quite open to the north; the anchorage is consequently exposed to a rolling sea, whenever the wind is from that quarter.

On the north side of the town, and overlooking the harbour, is a kind of citadel, evidently a work of much more remote date than any other portion of the fortifications. It covers a considerable extent of ground, and is slightly elevated above the rest of the

place. Indeed, it may be regarded as an inner town, for it contains numerous and thickly populated streets; and is furnished with gates, to cut off the communication at pleasure with the rest of the fortress. It formerly contained the arsenal, docks, &c. The old Venetian galley-vaults are still in tolerable preservation, but the walls, battlements, &c. looking towards the harbour, are in a very bad state.

The harbour is much obstructed by the ruins of the mole and docks, but a few vessels of three hundred tons burden can still lie in its deepest part, which is, however, the most exposed; and there is sufficient space behind the mole to shelter two or three hundred small craft. The whole is about to undergo repairs and improvements.

The privileges enjoyed by the port of Candia under the dominion of the Turks having wisely been abolished, Canea, which, besides being the best harbour, is also that which lies nearest to the most fertile districts of the island, has naturally become its great com-

mercial mart. The population of the place has increased proportionably, for, although not one-third the size of the capital, Canea contains now nearly an equal number of inhabitants. Of late years, the increase has been extraordinarily great; confidence in the government of Mohammed Ali having induced no less than three thousand "*mediatised*" Greek pirates to settle at Canea, since the island has been annexed to the Egyptian dominions.

The streets are wide and well paved, but by no means clean, and an oily Greek smell pervades the whole place. The shops are good, but offer no great variety of merchandize. The houses are wretched, without a single exception; lofty, old, and ricketty. The mosques and churches are propped up on crutches, and even the flag-staffs of the European Consuls partake of the general tottering character of the place; the old foretop-mast, from which the *union jack* is displayed, seemed disposed to part company with the roof of Mr. Capogrosso's house, whilst the consular

pole of the King of the French appeared to be quite overweighted with the enormous outspread charter of the “*three glorious days.*”

One would suppose that a smart shock of an earthquake would make Canea a heap of ruins ; it has, however, withstood so many—for the island is very subject to them—that the inhabitants appear to have no fears of such a catastrophe.

CHAPTER XI.

Trade of Candia — Productions — Exports and Imports — Injurious Consequences of the total want of Inland Communication — Revenue — Taxes — Greek Church Establishment — Price of Labour and Provisions — Character of the Inhabitants — Wretched Condition of the Island — Summary Account of the State of Candia during the War in Greece — Effects of the Battle of Navarin — Candia given up to Mohammed Ali — Insurrectionary Movement — Desertion of Osman Pasha — Form of Government — The acquisition of the Island not beneficial to Egypt — Advantages its Possession holds out to Great Britain — Conclusion.

THE trade of Candia, though in a more thriving state than during the latter years of the Turkish domination, is, nevertheless, far from being in the flourishing condition that the extreme productiveness of the island, and its admirable commercial position, might naturally lead one to expect. It is taxed, like that of Egypt, with a three per cent *ad valorem* duty on all imports; and most articles of produce pay the same rate of duty on ex-

portation. Some, however, are charged much higher; soap, for instance, pays ten and a half per cent duty on its value; silk, eight per cent; oil, seven and a half.

Although the productions of the island are thus taxed rather heavier, perhaps, than they were under the Turkish government, yet the removal of several most vexatious restrictions offers more than counterbalancing advantages to the country generally; for instance, many of its productions — amongst others, *all the oranges and lemons!* — were obliged formerly to be shipped at the port of Candia, and to be sent exclusively to Constantinople! so that perishable articles had sometimes to undergo a land journey of a hundred miles, ere they reached their place of embarkation.

The trade has now been thrown open, and the duties have been equalised at all the ports of the island. The same fixed rate of export duty is now also charged on the various articles of produce, to whatever *foreign ports* they may be consigned, which was not formerly the case.

The exports of Candia are, at the present day, but few, and consist principally of consumable articles ; oil, soap, honey, wax, a few raisins, oranges, and other fruits, and a small quantity of raw silk.

Of every thing else, the island may be said to be actually in want, not even a sufficiency of corn being grown for the subsistence of its scanty population. It possesses, nevertheless, a soil, and enjoys a temperature, that should render it independent of any productions but those of a tropical climate. The woods of oak, chesnut, walnut, and pine, with which its mountains are clothed, ought even to be a valuable source of profit ; but there is not a practicable road to any one port of the island, and, consequently, timber is imported ! The olive-tree is better calculated than any other for making charcoal, but though the whole island is covered with old and unproductive trees that can be turned to no other account, yet the want of communications, and the expense of labour, occasion fuel to be procured cheaper from abroad ! Both

flax and cotton are successfully cultivated on the island, but neither in a sufficient quantity to meet the demand of its inhabitants: what they do grow is manufactured by the peasantry for their own use.

The fruits and vegetables of Candia are particularly fine, and the list of them includes almost every variety, not omitting those monsters of the vegetable world, the aloe and prickly pear (*ficus indicus*), neither of which, however, is held in such estimation, or turned to such useful purposes, as in other countries.

The greater portion of the produce of Candia is exported to Turkey, but its oil (which, indeed, is the principal source of revenue of the island, and considered particularly fine), finds a sure market at the Austrian ports of the Adriatic, and even at those of the south of France. The island is badly stocked with cattle (goats only excepted), and the breeds are extremely small. Horses and mules are now imported in considerable numbers. Reptiles of all sorts are scarce, but the forests

abound with the ibex, wild boar, and wolf. Game is also plentiful in some parts of the island, and poultry is every where abundant.

Candia is indebted to Egypt for the corn and flax she stands in need of, as well as for rice, soda, hides, and cured fish : most of the other articles for which she has occasion are procured from Austria—timber and manufactured goods in particular.

In the interior of the country, the articles of *home* produce are to be obtained at a very cheap rate, for the same reason that every thing foreign is extravagantly dear, viz. the want of roads. This want is particularly felt by the inhabitants of the southern division of the island ; for, all the ports being on the northern coast, the produce of the fertile plains lying on the sunny side of the mountains must necessarily be sent on mules' backs over the barely practicable tracks that I have attempted to describe ; and this mode of transport entailing a considerable expense, occasions, of course, a corresponding advance on the price of the commodities.

There are, it is true, two small ports, Sphackia and Girapetra, on the south side of the island ; but, in addition to being difficult of access by land, they are very insecure : and even were they otherwise, the export trade of the island being directed to Europe, and not to Africa, the ports on the northern coast would always be preferred to ship from.

The principal source of revenue in Candia is the miri, or land tax—a duty of seven and a half per cent on the produce of all the land of the island : besides this, vineyards are subject to an additional impost, according to measurement : and a tax is levied on every head of cattle, that on sheep being forty-two paras (about threepence) per annum. The inhabitants cannot, however, be considered highly taxed, since they are not subject to either a poll tax, or house and window taxes ; nor have they poor's rates to pay — nor a church establishment to support ; both the churches of the Greeks, and the mosques of the Mohammedans, being endowed with lands for their maintenance.

The Greek church, nevertheless, draws heavily, in the way of *voluntary* contributions and *penances*, on the purses of its superstitious disciples ; so that in this respect the Candiot Mussulmans are exempt from a charge that their Christian brethren have to bear, and it is the only kind of tax they *do bear* with any degree of patience. Superstition is, however, stronger with them than even the love of gain ; and, working upon that, their ghostly preceptors induce them to contribute pretty largely to the support of the various religious establishments — that is, of the *priesthood* — which is the only department of the Greek church that appears to have derived benefit from these *free gifts*. The island is divided into eleven bishoprics, under the archiepiscopal see of Candia.

The price of labour in the rural districts varies from three to four piastres a day. In the vicinity of the towns, it amounts to six, and carpenters, masons, and other artificers, are paid as high as eight or ten. Provisions of all sorts are much dearer than in Egypt ;

but the lower orders of Candiotes manage, nevertheless, to feed better than the corresponding classes in the *sister* kingdom—that is to say, according to our English notions—for a Greek's daily consumption of animal food is equal to that of the entire population of an Arab village.

The expense of travelling keeps pace with the advance in price of provisions and labour, it being at least four times greater than in Egypt. The sum for which a camel can be hired on the banks of the Nile will not procure an ass in Candia, and in all their dealings the Candiotes are equally as distrustful of strangers as the Arabs, less faithful to their engagements, and more cunning and extortionate.

Here, as in every other part of the world that has long bent under the Mohammedan yoke, smoking is a prevailing vice. The Greek, however, is not such a perfect slave to his pipe as either the Turk, Arab, or Persian—not that he loves smoking less, but because his pipe is *shorter*. He can, therefore, move

about with it in his hand, puffing as he goes ; and from morning to night it is at his mouth, excepting during the time he feeds — a duty he never fails to perform at the usual stated periods, for a Greek can eat in spite of tobacco-smoke.

There is nothing very peculiar in the character or manners of the inhabitants of Candia. The Turks are Turks ; the Candiotes *very* Greeks. The former continue to dwell within the walls of the towns, to which they were driven during the late civil war ; the latter are scattered thinly over the face of this beautiful, productive, but devastated country.

Great as have been the exertions of Mohammed Ali, to induce confidence and promote the prosperity of the island, it remains nearly in the same desolate state in which it was left at the termination of the late long and sanguinary struggle between its Greek and Mussulman inhabitants. Large villages, that, but a few years since, contained some hundreds of families, have not now that number of souls sheltered under their crum-

bling walls. Not a mosque is to be seen outside the fortified towns—scarcely a church but what is roofless and deserted. The wells are choked up—reservoirs and irrigating channels ruined—roads, bridges, and aqueducts destroyed—vineyards uprooted—olive trees hewn down, or, from neglect, become barren and profitless. Nothing, in fact, can be more perfectly wretched than the state of Candia ; nothing could picture more forcibly the evils resulting from civil war.

This inhuman, exterminating, conflict had not even the cloak of religious enthusiasm to cover its revolting barbarity ; for, neither the Turks nor Greeks of Candia, who commenced it, were very warm supporters of their respective tenets—so lax, indeed, had they become, that intermarriages had connected by ties of consanguinity the Mohammedan and Christian families of every village on the island. Nor had the Greek portion of the population cause to be discontented with the Turkish government, which interfered but little with the internal management of the island, pro-

vided the taxes were regularly paid, and the productions of its fruitful fields sent to the prescribed markets — imports and restrictions to which Turks and Greeks were alike subject.

It could hardly, therefore, under such circumstances, have been expected that the Candiot Greek should have joined their less favoured brethren of the Morea, in the attempt to throw off the Ottoman yoke—an attempt that has caused them to be handed over to a more powerful master—and one, who, knowing that he holds the island but *in trust*, cannot be expected to have its prosperity much at heart.

Before offering any remarks, however, on the actual government of Candia, a *Précis* of the most remarkable events which occurred in that island, during the nine years previous to its being placed under the dominion of Mohammed Ali, may not be unacceptable; since no succinct account has been published (at least to my knowledge) of this episode of the Greek revolution; and the fragments, that

from time to time have appeared in the European newspapers, have evidently been derived from sources polluted by Greek mendacity, without passing through the filter of personal observation.

In the barbarities and horrors that marked the first outbreak of the revolt of the Greeks, the Candiotes took no part; but the ties, which, as before mentioned, connected them with their Turkish compatriots, did not, unfortunately, extend to the inhabitants of every part of the island. The savage natives of the mountainous district of Sphackia were a distinct people, who had long been accustomed to live by rapine and piracy; and seeing, in the general anarchy that must follow an insurrection, an advantageous opening for pursuing their favourite avocation, required but little encouragement from their Moreote brethren to raise the standard of revolt. The contagion spread quickly throughout the whole island; such of the Greek inhabitants as were inclined to remain quiet soon finding, that, if they did not join in sacrificing

the Turks, they would themselves fall victims to the barbarians of Sphackia.

The Turks, as usual, every way unprepared, were immediately driven into the fortified towns, where they were secure from the attacks of their enemies, and from which they issued, as favourable opportunities presented themselves for carrying off the crops and cattle of the Greeks, and destroying their villages, vineyards, and olive grounds.

This unnatural warfare was carried on for nearly four years, during which period the greater part of the island was laid waste; and was brought to a close only by the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha, on his way to the Morea, in November, 1824. The Candiotes, seeing that resistance to the Egyptian troops would be unavailing, tendered their submission, and, having obtained the promise of a general amnesty, gladly returned to the peaceable cultivation of their fields. The promises of Ibrahim were faithfully kept; and, wretched as was the state to which the island had been reduced, yet, the eighteen

months that followed the visit of the Egyptian army was a period of perfect happiness to the Candiotes, after the years of bloodshed, rapine, and dearth, which they had previously endured.

The duration of this state of tranquillity was doomed to be but short: the battle of Navarin took place, and extended its baneful influence even to Candia. The Greeks mistook that “untoward” *demonstration*, for an overt act of *hostility*—or thought, at all events, the Turks would do so—and calculated, confidently, that this hitherto ill-understood mode of *mediating* would be resented by an indiscriminate massacre of the Christians throughout the Ottoman empire, and thus render a war inevitable.

The subtle President of Greece immediately sent his emissaries to Candia, (where he already maintained a number of paid agents,) to point out to its inhabitants that the favourable moment had arrived for renewing the war; and the Candiotes could not but perceive that, whilst the destruction of the Turco-

Egyptian fleet had relieved them from the dread of another visit from the Arabs, it had rendered their communication with their own friends in the Morea perfectly secure.

Still, however, so large a portion of the population was averse to plunge again into the horrors of a civil war—attended with certain loss to the proprietors of the soil, which-ever side came off victorious—so that, for a time, the intrigues of Capo d'Istrias were fruitless; but, on the other hand, those amongst the inhabitants who had lost their all in the past struggle, or who, never having possessed anything to lose, were reckless of the destruction of the property of others, and longed to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity of possessing themselves of the estates of their Turkish compatriots, were determined to drive matters to the last extremity, and waited only for the promised means—leaders and money—to re-commence their devastating warfare.

The pile was thus all prepared, and waited but the application of the torch, to involve

again this ill-fated island in one exterminating blaze ; and England, as if determined to enact the part of Herostratus on the occasion, selected this moment for letting loose upon it the nest of political firebrands collected at Carabousa.

This little rock, by nature extremely difficult of access, and strengthened by art, so as to be rendered almost impregnable, lies close to the shore, at the north-eastern extremity of Candia. Delivered by treachery into the hands of the insurgent Greeks, it had, at the pacification of the island, remained in the possession of a band of miscreants, composed of the most desperate characters of the whole Grecian Archipelago ; who, allured to Candia by the prospect of plunder, as the vulture is attracted to the battle-field, had, since the termination of hostilities there, perched themselves on this inaccessible rock, ready to pounce again upon their prey.

Keeping up an active and friendly correspondence with the Philhellenists of the Morea and the intriguing President of Greece, this

band of miscreants, under pretence of a state of war with the Porte, committed the most infamous acts of piracy on vessels of all nations ; but at length, having drawn upon themselves the observation of the allied fleets, a combined English and French squadron was sent under the late gallant Sir Thomas Staines, to dislodge them from their stronghold.

This difficult enterprise was accomplished with the loss of a British frigate, which unfortunately got upon a reef of rocks ; the pirates, loaded with their booty, escaped to Candia, and took refuge with their friends the Sphackiotes ; in the impracticable fastnesses of whose mountains they were more secure from attack, and much more dangerous to the peace of Candia, than even at Carabousa. There, aided by the remittances, and instigated by the promises of Capo d'Istrias, they soon succeeded in re-kindling the war ; resorting to the most violent measures to *compel* the peaceably-disposed part of the Greek peasantry to join in the insur-

rection ; the houses of such as refused to take up arms in the *cause of liberty* being most tyrannically rased to the ground.

Thus was the island again plunged into civil war ; and this second struggle was yet more destructive than the former. Nothing was now spared ; and, the entire country having been laid waste, by each party destroying all that belonged to the other, the Turks, as before, retired to their fortresses.

The President of Greece, (who appears to have been freely permitted by the three *mediating* Powers to direct the revolt of the Candiotes,) seeing the impossibility of capturing the fortified towns by force of arms, determined to call in the aid of famine ; and, accordingly, (8th March, 1828,) declared the *blockade* of the island, on the plea that (*being in the hands of the Greek insurgents!*) it furnished provisions to the army of Ibrahim Pasha, still detained inactive in the Morea, in consequence of the destruction of the fleet.

This bold measure on the part of Capo d'Istrias soon, however, led to such a system

of piracy, that the three *mediating* Powers, who had quietly suffered it to be carried into effect, were obliged to interfere; and, no better means of putting a stop to the evil suggesting itself, the Greek vessels were sent into port, and an English squadron was entrusted with the honourable task of blockading the coast of Candia.

This step, though still rather *one-sided*—considering that the three Powers had previously destroyed the fleet of one of the belligerents—would not have been so glaringly unjust, had the blockade excluded the vessels of both parties, and left them to depend on their respective prowess and resources to terminate the contest; but, so far from that being the case, the insurgent Greeks were suffered to receive money, ammunition, and recruits; in fact, everything necessary for carrying on the war, whilst not a *mistico* was permitted to enter the ports occupied by their adversaries.

It being thenceforth vain for the Turks to look for supplies from without, the war within

assumed a yet more sanguinary character. The gallant Mustapha Pasha, collecting the few troops under his command, sallied out of Canea, driving the Greek *blockading army* before him, and, crossing the mountains, possessed himself of Castel Franco, the principal port of the insurgents, on the south side of the island ; but, unable to penetrate into the fastnesses of Sphackia, and expel them from their hiding places, he was obliged to rest satisfied with the plunder of the open country, destroying all that he could not carry off. On his return from this predatory expedition, the Greeks ventured to attack him in the mountain passes, hoping to be able to cut him off from Canea ; but though, from the nature of the ground, they occasioned the Turkish cavalry a severe loss, yet they were completely foiled in the attempt to prevent his return.

It was absurd, therefore, whilst the Turks thus possessed the power of moving out of their fortresses, and scouring the country whenever they pleased, to maintain that the

Greeks were *masters of the island*. Such, however, was the footing on which all negotiations for the pacification of Candia were *required* to be based.

In September, 1828, Capo d'Istrias, finding that matters did not progress according to his desires, sent a trusty agent to Candia, to organize the insurgents and direct their movements; but though the "*Condottiere*" selected for this purpose was, by the influence and money of his employer, enabled to assume the post allotted to him, and thereby to give a little more unity of action to the military operations of the insubordinate Greek bands, and infuse some slight unanimity into the councils of the different chiefs; still his mission ended in complete disappointment. The Greeks could not even be brought to face the Turks when they sallied from their fortresses, much less to undertake the siege of any of them.

The crops being no longer on the ground—the Turks now wisely determined to husband their small store of ammunition and

provisions, by remaining on the defensive ; for, the open country having been thoroughly sacked, it would have been a mere waste of blood, as well as throwing aside a decided advantage, to have taken the field against an enemy who could always baffle pursuit, by retiring to the mountains. Trusting, therefore, that, by the blessing of Allah, mediation, or a happy turn in the tide of Mohammedan affairs, would, sooner or later, release them from their unpleasant situation, they quietly squatted to their pipes, on the ramparts of Candia, Retimo, and Canea.

It required, however, all the address and influence of the Seraskier Pasha of the island, and Mustapha, his lieutenant, to restrain the rage of the Turkish inhabitants of the country, who, thus compelled to abandon their homes, and leave their crops to be gathered by their enemies, burned to take revenge on the Greek inhabitants of the towns. The Albanian troops, also, who were upwards of a year in arrears of pay, wished much to help themselves from the tills of the good citizens.

To the credit of the Turkish authorities be it, however, recorded, but one instance of disorder occurred, and that was occasioned by the unprovoked murder of an old man—one of the principal Turks of Candia—almost within sight of the city, to which he was returning from a visit to his country-house.

The public feeling was so excited by this cowardly act, that a tumult arose, and upwards of a hundred Greeks were massacred in the streets of Candia. The Seraskier Pasha succeeded only, with the greatest difficulty, in putting a stop to the slaughter, and saving the rest of the Christian population* of the place.

* Contrast this with the account published by an English gentleman—himself an eye-witness—of the horrible massacre perpetrated by the Greeks at Hydra, but a short time before; a gentleman who certainly cannot be accused of a *leaning* towards the Turks. On the mere rumour that a Hydriote vessel had been blown up by a “*refractory Turkish SLAVE*,” whom the captain had struck, (of the truth of which story, by the way, there never *could be* any confirmation, since all on board perished, “*refractory Turk*” inclusive,) the inhabitants of Hydra assembled to put to death every Turk in the place. The inmates of the prison were first despatched; they were driven forth and butchered *one by one*. Not satisfied with this unparalleled atrocity, search was then made for every slave, as

At length, in January, 1829, the English blockade of the island was raised, all attempts at negotiation having been thwarted by the arrogant pretensions of the Greeks, and the two parties were left to settle the matter as they could.

So prompt was Mohammed Ali in taking advantage of this return to justice on the part of the *interfering* powers, that an Egyptian armed squadron, despatched from Alexandria, surprised and captured some Greek vessels in the bay of Suda, when some curious correspondence between Capo d'Istrias and his agents fell into the hands of the Egyptian commander. This led to the recall of Baron Renech, to whom, nevertheless, a successor was appointed, to take the direction of affairs. His military exploits were, however, still less brilliant than those

well in the houses as on board ship, and "*two hundred wretches*" were thus sacrificed to the "fury of the mob." "During the continuance of this scene, which lasted for many hours, no attempt was made by the primates to check the fury of the crowd," and "*the noble Canaris*" was "*lying on a bench, drowned in tears!*" And yet these people call themselves christians, and consider themselves civilized!

of his predecessor ; and, not possessing his tact, the different parties into which the Greeks were divided soon became altogether unmanageable. The chief of each band, thenceforth, acted entirely according to his own whim ; rapine and murder continued, as before, to lay waste the country ; but, all the Turks having long since disappeared, Greek now turned upon Greek, and their cup of misery was full.

Had a small reinforcement, or even a supply of ammunition, been despatched from Egypt at this juncture, the island would have been quickly reduced to subjection ; but Mohammed Ali, justly mistrusting the actions of the mediating powers, was afraid to commit himself. Matters were, therefore, allowed to take their course, and the insurgent Candiotes, finding that they had destroyed all belonging to the Turks, and plundered all they possibly could from each other ; that they could no longer look for aid from Greece, and had no means of disposing of the produce of their lands ; gladly consented to receive a master

from the hands of the allied powers. Thus, after a period of nearly nine years, ended the revolt of Candia—a revolt brought about by the intrigues of revolutionary propagandists, fomented by Capo d'Istria to further his own ambitious views, and abetted by the three great powers that signed the treaty of London “*to prevent the effusion of blood*”—a revolt that caused the destruction of more property than fifty years of uninterrupted prosperity can repair, and that deluged the island with the blood of two-thirds of its inhabitants.

By the arrangement which was now effected, Candia was annexed to the dominions of the Viceroy of Egypt, who, tied down to govern it, without imposing fresh taxes, was expected (Heaven knows why) to be in the possession of some secret for conciliating both Turks and Greeks. The short period of tranquillity that followed gave some colour to the belief of his having discovered this panacea; but the true cause of it was his order to disarm the inhabitants, and the arrival of a

body of Egyptian troops to overawe both parties.

In the summer of 1833, Mohammed Ali visited his newly-acquired possession, when he directed several useful public works to be undertaken; and, in his addresses to the different provincial councils of the island, he called upon them to second him in affording protection and encouragement to the cultivators of the soil, on whom the prosperity of the country so much depends. To these appeals most "loyal and dutiful" replies were returned, but no steps have been taken to carry out his plans; first, from the disbelief of all Greeks in the possibility of anybody's working disinterestedly for their good—secondly, from a latent hope, on the part of the leading men, of being able eventually to form a snug little republic of their own—a project which every act that is likely to render Mohammed Ali popular tends to thwart.

This feeling manifested itself soon after the return of the Viceroy to Egypt. The turbulent chiefs of the former insurrection—under

the pretence of its being in contemplation to levy new imposts—succeeded in collecting several thousand inhabitants—Turks as well as Greeks — who refused to pay any taxes whatever.

Mustapha Pasha possessed now, however, the means of putting a speedy stop to the insurrectionary movement, and did not fail to avail himself of it; advancing quickly with the Egyptian troops, he succeeded without difficulty in dispersing the mob and securing several of the ringleaders. These were conducted to Candia, tried and condemned to ten years' hard labour, whilst their deluded followers were permitted to return to their homes, thankful for not being deprived of their ears as well as their guns and yatagans. The affair would have terminated here, and the lenity exhibited might have had a good effect, but, unfortunately, Mohammed Ali, on receiving the first report of the insurrection — the extent of which was, as usual, greatly exaggerated — conceiving that the local authorities had not sufficient means at

their command to put it down, had despatched the Egyptian fleet, under Osman Pasha, to render assistance ; and had empowered him to inflict summary punishment on certain individuals known to be the promoters of the revolt.

These instructions the drunken admiral chose to carry into effect, although he did not reach Candia until some time after the insurrection had been suppressed by Mustapha Pasha, who, feeling that his honour was somewhat compromised by this departure from the terms he had granted, interfered strongly, but in vain, on behalf of the delinquents. The execution of these miscreants—who, for the preceding ten years, had caused the island to be deluged with innocent blood—could excite but little commiseration : yet, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, this act of severity was to be regretted, as it was looked upon as a breach of faith, and tended to make Mohammed Ali very unpopular.

It was at first attributed to Osman Pasha's habitual inebriety and consequent stupidity ;

and his subsequent desertion from the Egyptian service was supposed to have been from the dread of his master's displeasure. But the whole of this man's conduct leads to the belief that he acted in the affair with premeditation ; for, in a letter addressed, shortly after his desertion, to Mr. Borgos, (one of the Viceroy's principal secretaries) he stated that, on quitting Egypt for Candia, he had made up his mind to embrace the first favourable opportunity of leaving Mohammed Ali's service ; and, since that opportunity presented itself the moment he left the port of Alexandria, it is pretty evident that he delayed carrying his intention into effect, until he could do some mischief to his employer. Finding, therefore, on his arrival at Candia, that the insurrection had been quelled, he adopted the only means remaining in his power to injure Mohammed Ali by putting in force his severe orders, given in the anticipation of a much more serious crisis. By this act, he hoped to throw again the brand of discord between the Viceroy and his Candiot subjects, and perform a service which

he well knew would find favour with Sultan Mahmoud, whose protection he immediately sought and obtained.

In Candia, the whole odium of this act of treachery fell, naturally enough, upon Mohammed Ali, and was a death-blow to his rising popularity; but that, under any circumstances, his government should be disliked, is by no means surprising, considering the previous lawless state of the island and the composition of its inhabitants. The Greeks, (forming still the bulk of the population), have an innate distaste for any government that will punish an infringement of its laws, and put down rapine and piracy. The Turks, accustomed to consider themselves the rulers of the land, cannot brook being kept in subjection by Arabs. The former, long unused to contribute towards the expenses of a government, consider all imposts as grievances. The latter, whose property has been ruined by their opponents, conceive that they are entitled to exemption from taxation, in consideration of their losses. Mohammed Ali finds it, therefore, a difficult

task to frame laws that will meet the views of his dissatisfied Candiote subjects, without burdening the Egyptian treasury with the expense of enforcing them ; but his addresses to the provincial councils of the island are certainly not traced by the hand of a “ sanguinary tyrant, whose only idea of government is taxation.”*

The island is governed by a Pasha, nominated by the Viceroy of Egypt, who is assisted in his arduous duties by the provincial councils of Candia, Retimo, and Canea. These three provinces are subdivided into districts, (of which the whole island contains twenty-four) each governed by a Boulak Bashee ; and every village has two chiefs—one Greek and one Mohammedan.

The provincial councils are composed of a president and two deputies (one Greek and one Turk) from each of the districts contained in the province. Their duties are both of a legislative and judicial nature ; the laws being framed by them, and all offences punished at

* See Addenda, No. 2.

their award. Death, however, cannot be inflicted without the approval of the governing Pasha. The other duties of the councils are, to watch over the public health, to regulate the price of provisions, superintend the public works, &c., in their respective provinces. The deputies receive a trifling salary, and, being rather nominated by the governor than elected by the people, cannot be supposed to be very independent.*

The number of troops maintained in the island is scarcely five thousand. This amount is made up of five weak battalions of the Nizam (about three thousand five hundred bayonets) and an irregular force of Albanians. The guard of the fortresses is entrusted to the Egyptian troops, the Turkish soldiers being scattered in small parties throughout the island. In addition to the three cities on the north coast and the island of Suda, the other fortified points of Candia are Spina longa, Gira petra, and Castel-Franco—all mere forts ;

* The unavoidable departure from the rule for the composition of these provincial councils has already been noticed in the case of Retimo. The other two adhere pretty rigidly to it.

the former also on the northern, the two others on the southern, shore of the island.

The paltry revenue raised in the island is barely sufficient to pay the current expenses of the government, and the cost of the Egyptian troops necessary for its protection, the number of which is certainly as small as prudence will admit; and, at this moment, Candia, far from being a source of profit to Mohammed Ali, obliges him to expend on its *protection* part of the taxes levied on the people of Egypt. The expense of putting Candia *into thorough repair* would occasion an outlay that the treasury of the Viceroy could at this moment ill afford; and, even if the island were in ever so sound a state, still it would not furnish Egypt with a single thing of which she stands in need.

Candia is thus worse than useless to Mohammed Ali. Its possession drains his finances, gives jealousy to the Greeks, and weakens him in every possible way. In the event of a war with Turkey, a large force would be required for its defence, which might

be much more advantageously employed elsewhere ; in the case of a rupture with Greece, it would be subject to constant marauding visits, which his cumbersome line of battle ships would never be able to prevent ; and, whenever a general war again convulses Europe, far from being allowed to remain quietly in his hands, it would be one of the points first contested for by the belligerents.

Mohammed Ali is too clear-sighted not to be aware of these circumstances, and to see that it is merely the mutual jealousy of the European powers that causes this valuable island to be placed as a kind of deposit in his hands ; and there can be but little doubt he would willingly barter away the honorary distinction of being its governor for any personal benefit, however slight.

The advantages offered to Great Britain by the possession of Candia are, on the other hand, incalculable ; and, since the boundaries of Russia may now be considered as advanced to the Dardanelles and Cape Matapan, (for the impotent kingdom of Greece, if suffered to

exist, must always act in obedience to the Czar's dictates), it behoves Great Britain to take up a position, to be at hand to frustrate the further ambitious projects of that power. Malta is no longer sufficiently near the Levant to protect our trade and give timely support to Greece, Syria, and Egypt, in case of need ; particularly, keeping in view the change that will be effected in naval warfare by the application of steam. The same may be said of all the Ionian Islands, except Cérigo, which, however, does not possess a port that could contain a collier, much less shelter a fleet.

Candia, whilst it is so situated as to watch the whole of the Levant, the entrances to the Dardanelles and Adriatic, and the northern coast of Africa, possesses, in the Bay of Suda, a harbour without its equal in the Mediterranean, and which might be rendered as strong as either Port Mahon or La Valletta. The island is capacious enough to contain a force of sufficient strength *to be of service*, in the event of an armed intervention being

necessary : and it would not, like most of the present possessions of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, be dependent upon other countries for its supplies. The expense attendant on its occupation would, doubtless, in the first instance, be heavy, considering the wretched condition of the fortified points, harbours, roads, &c. &c. ; but the extraordinary fertility of its soil would, under proper management, soon enable it to repay this outlay ; and, in the meanwhile, England might spare herself the expense of protecting five of the seven islands composing the absurd Ionian Republic.

Whilst Great Britain would thus improve her own position by the acquisition of Candia, she would at the same time be strengthening Egypt, (which it is clearly her policy to do), by ridding that power of an incubus, and allowing it to direct its undivided energies towards Syria.

From what I have here stated, it may, I think, be inferred that Mohammed Ali would gladly dispose with this, to him, worse than

useless possession to any power that would give him *any thing* for it : but if, contrary to his own interest, he should demur, the alternative is to take it.

Such a step, on the part of Great Britain, might occasion a vast deal of *protocoling*, but what considerations should deter her from taking it ? Could Russia remonstrate—having, without her concurrence, possessed herself successively of Poland, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Georgia ? Could Austria or Prussia—both daily interfering in the affairs of the petty states of Germany and Italy ? Could France—which continues to occupy Ancona, and, in contempt of the pledged word of her king, retains possession of Algiers ?

The best answer to our *own objection* is, that the surest way of *avoiding* a war is to be *prepared* for one ; and, if our preponderance in the East be worth preserving, it can now only be upheld by occupying Candia and supporting Egypt.

ADDENDA.

No. I.

THE following note is so perfectly characteristic of Mohammed Ali, and evinces such a consciousness of the knowledge of the *value* of his friendship to certain European powers, that it will be read with interest by such as have not had an opportunity of judging of the Viceroy of Egypt's diplomatic *calibre*.

I make no scruple in giving publicity to this document, which, though certainly not intended to meet the public eye, has been given at length in a recent French work.

The harsh expressions it contains, with reference to Russia, have doubtless been long since *explained away*, leaving the two powers much in the state of a couple of dogs with a bone in expectancy—each wagging his tail with most amicable *demonstration*, but, at the same, shifting his ground, so as to secure the best possible position for falling upon the prey the moment it should be dropped.

This Mohammedan protocol (written under the Vice-roy's own dictation) was addressed to the diplomatic agents of Great Britain and France, pending the *mediation* to arrest the march of Ibrahim Pasha on Constantinople after the victory of Konieh, and thereby to deprive Russia of all pretext for interference.

“ I have fully penetrated the spirit of your instructions, and understood how the Ottoman empire is an object of your deep solicitude and interest. As, on my part, I have no other desire, and meditate nothing more than to withdraw that empire from the controlling power of the Russians, who rule it in the character of masters, and of rescuing my unhappy nation from the disgrace which oppresses it ; those benevolent intentions of the English and French governments, in accordance as they are with my own sentiments, claim the expression of my unreserved gratitude. Nevertheless, as we do not all agree in the means of rendering that empire strong and powerful, I must now declare, as a zealous patriot, my inward convictions on this point, in order that, if they should receive from both governments that attention of which their wonted justice and impartiality assure me, the interest they possess towards my country may produce the happy results we may expect from them.

“ 1st. His Excellency M. Roussin, ambassador from France at the Porte, being desirous of removing every ground for the detention at Constantinople of the Russian vessels which have arrived there, has written a pressing letter, urging me to accelerate the conclusion of peace between the Porte and Egypt, and proposing

that I should be content to accept of the four districts composing the government of Saïda. By the adoption of this course he has, in reality, departed from the system of benevolent protection, adopted as the principal object to be attained ; for such a proposal too well harmonizes with the views of Russia, who aims at weakening the Ottoman empire.

“ 2nd. Russia, on account of her proximity to Turkey, and her subsisting intercourse with Constantinople, is fully sensible of the inertness of the Porte, and of the steady progress made by Egypt, when she pledges herself that the mere province of Saïda shall be annexed to Egypt, and that the other provinces occupied by the Egyptian forces shall remain under the power of the Grand Signor in their former state of destitution ; her object is to retain the superiority she has acquired, and to destroy the Ottoman empire at any moment she may think proper. This proposal being thus at variance with the policy of England and France, it should naturally be rejected.

“ 3rd. The provinces which Egypt has demanded of the Porte, through the channel of Halil Pacha, have been so demanded, like the governments usually granted to other viziers, under the title of a revocable nomination, and not in absolute property. Susceptible as those provinces are of cultivation and improvement, and of shortly becoming so—witness the rapid prosperity of Egypt—it is evident that the advantages to be derived from them would accrue to the Porte, and that England, France, and the other powers of Europe would, owing to the

intercourse which would result from their position, reap every benefit from them. In the contrary case, of those countries still continuing under the authority of the Porte, they would, owing to her improvidence and neglect, remain wild, uncultivated deserts; so far from affording the means of strengthening her power, they would be wholly unable to assist her. Let them be, therefore, united to Egypt, and they will soon be found well cultivated, teeming with population, and supplying all the resources of which they are susceptible. The Porte would thus become strong and powerful, and be naturally relieved from the oppression of Russia. Should the interest so kindly taken by England and France in the welfare of Turkey manifest itself by such results, they will assuredly have rendered the Ottoman Porte a signal service, and my own most fervent wishes will have been crowned with success.

“4th. My whole nation, without distinction of ranks, is fully sensible that such has been my exclusive object in devoting myself, as I have done, and in exposing my fortune, my family, and my worthiest servants. Throughout Arabia, in Anatolia, on the very shores of the Black Sea, that is to say, in Daghestan and Lazistan, in Bosnia and Roumelia, at Constantinople itself, the greater part of the ministers, ulemas, and inhabitants, have addressed themselves to me. They have successively transmitted supplications and despatches, both openly and in private, purporting that the whole Mussulman nation, revolted at the unworthy conduct of Sultan Mahmoud, behold him with repugnance, and that, having failed to obtain from

him, by persuasive means, the organization of his dominions, they are compelled to resort to the influence of a powerful personage ; that, failing to discover any other than myself on the face of the earth, they earnestly implore my aid and support.

“ Let the countries which, at the instigation of so many suffrages and prayers, I have demanded of my government, be granted to me ; and I trust that, thanks to the good-will of England and France, I shall soon succeed in augmenting my revenue, increasing my army, completely organizing every branch of the service, and ever faithful, as a vassal, to my government, be found prepared, at the first bidding, to wage war against the Russians.

“ Should they attempt to manifest their perfidious designs against Turkey, uniting myself with the whole of Persia and of Lesguistan, I should proceed to encounter and inflict such severe losses upon them, that my unhappy nation would, at last, be rescued from their relentless tyranny. These considerations, so easy of apprehension, are still more evident to Russia, contiguous as she is to Turkey ; she, accordingly, strains every nerve to prevent my receiving the grant of the desired territory. This concession would militate too much against her policy, not to make her endeavour to obstruct it. England and France, on the other hand, will assuredly not favour the wishes of Russia to the detriment of their own policy, and in opposition to the interest they manifest towards the Ottoman empire. Now that her projects, which had hitherto been disguised, have been laid open to view, it behoves the honour and dignity of both go-

vernments to afford the proof of their friendly feelings in my regard.

“5th. In short, finding myself powerful amongst my people, acting consistently with our sacred code, that is to say, in virtue of the judicial fetwas which have been openly sent to me by all the Ulemas of Arabia and Anatolia, I am enjoined by the law to resort to every means of strengthening my nation and government. Now, as such means can only be realised by my receiving a concession of the countries which I have just demanded, I feel warranted in persisting in my demand, until it shall have been assented to. I have thus ardently laboured hitherto, with no other view than to leave the world with some degree of renown.

“Since my nation has so confidently had recourse to me, rather than incur the reproach of having abandoned her, and preferred indulging in repose, I shall gladly court a glorious death in her service. It is under the inspiration of these sentiments that I humbly beseech England and France to adopt, in my regard, a determination consistent with justice, equity, and their own interest.”

No. II.

Extract from a Firman, addressed by his Highness Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, to the Members of the Provincial Council of Canea, dated 16th August, 1833.

* * * * *

“Although the island of Candia contains within itself all the seeds of prosperity, and combines all the conditions

necessary for rendering it rich and prosperous, yet doomed for many years past to be distracted by internal broils and dissensions, a great portion of its fertile soil has been left untilled, and the olive-tree, which may be considered its richest production, still remains totally neglected.

“The cause of this is, that the greater part of the land devoted to its cultivation is owned by individuals who do not possess the means indispensably requisite for rendering it productive.

“Now, it is evident, that if such a state of things continues much longer, the result must be that this valuable production will become extinct. To check, therefore, the progress of an evil that every day grows more serious, some means must be devised for improving the culture of the olive; and, to effect this desirable purpose, the inhabitants have no better method than that above recommended, which consists in their mutually lending each other aid and assistance.

“The government, on its part, moved thereto by a sense of justice and equity, will charge itself with the manufacture of all the implements, &c. necessary for the cultivation of the country, for such of the inhabitants as have not the means of otherwise procuring them.

“It will, at the same time, chastise those malevolent persons, whose conduct may tend to hurt the interests of the country. It will undertake to lay the foundation of the mighty structure of civilization, using every possible means of delivering the inhabitants—Mussulmans as well as Christians—from the darkness of ignorance, by opening their eyes to the beneficent light of science.”

The Firman then proceeds to give directions to the government of Canea to clean out and improve the port—to establish two schools for the education of the children of the inhabitants—Mussulmans and Christians.

The whole to be effected at the cost of the government.

Another paragraph decrees the abolition of the tax, established “from time immemorial” on cattle.

Extract of a Firman, addressed by his Highness Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, to the principal Inhabitants of Canea, dated Canea, 20th August, 1833.

“We are pleased to believe, that each of you, moved by a noble emulation, will have at heart the amelioration of the condition of his children, and will consider it a duty to co-operate in forwarding the well-being, civilization, and glory, of his native land.”

Proceeding, then, to point out his intention of giving each village, of which the inhabitants are all Christians, a chief of their own selection; and to such as contain a mixed population, a Mussulman and Christian chief, for the government of his co-religionists respectively, the Viceroy concludes in the following words: “If you have any observations to offer relative to the resolutions of the council, do not hesitate in forthwith making them known to us.”

THE END.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page xii., line 17, (Preface) for "nor" read "not."
" 24 " 14, (Note) for "Amron" read "Amrou. "
" 34 " 21, for "eighty" read "eight."
" 85 " 2, for "tents" read "huts."
" — " 9, for "continuing" read "continues."
" 119 " " (Note) for "Chapter X." read "Chapter III. vol. ii."
" 129 " 17, insert "been" before "commenced."
" 206 " 17, after "scarabei" insert a comma."
" 243 " 1, omit "as."
" 258 " 21, insert "is" before "strewed."
" 271 " 2, for "for but" read "but for."
" 272 " 1, for "studia" read "stadia."
" 290 " 19, omit "themselves."
" 298 " 14, omit "at Siout" and place the comma in the next
line after "Kheneh."
" 313 " 9, for "bay-salt" read "basalt."
" 314 " 16, and elsewhere throughout the work, read "Propylon"
for "Propylæon."
" 320 " 22, and elsewhere, for "groupe" read "group."
-

VOL. II.

- Page 28, line 11, for "no part" read "no profit."
" 50 " 7, for "equally uninteresting" read "equally as uninteresting as the other."
" 98 " 8, for "wall" read "well."
" 108 " 12, insert a comma after "well being" instead of the full point.
" 123 " 22, for "Sultan" read "Viceroy."
" 168 " 17, for "a single one thing" read "one single thing."
" 309 " 6, for "which terminates in" read "and, at its termination stands."
" 327 " 10, and in several other places, for "Capo d'Istrias" read "Capo d'Istria."

MR. COLBURN

Begs to acquaint his Literary Friends and the Public, that he has resumed GENERAL PUBLISHING at

13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET;

whence his Periodical Works have been issued since he left New Burlington Street in 1832; and that he is preparing for Publication

WORKS,

By the following Distinguished Writers:

AUTHOR OF "TREMAINE."
CAPTAIN ALEXANDER.
H. I. BULWER, ESQ., M. P.
LADY CHARLOTTE BURY.
THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ.
T. CROFTON CROKER, ESQ.
B. D'ISRAELI, ESQ.
MRS. GORE.
DR. GRANVILLE, F. R. S.
THEODORE HOOK, ESQ.

MRS. S. C. HALL.
DOUGLAS JERROLD, ESQ.
MISS LONDON.
LADY MORGAN.
M. J. QUIN, ESQ.
CAPTAIN SCOTT.
MRS. SHELLEY.
HORACE SMITH, ESQ.
ROBERT SULIVAN, ESQ.
H. G. WARD, ESQ., M. P.

The following are nearly ready for Publication:

I.

LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH;

By THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.
Author of the "Pleasures of Hope."

In 2 vols. 8vo., with 12 Plates of Scenery, Costume, &c.

II.

PERSONAL MEMOIRS OF GENERAL SHAW,

Late Colonel in the Portuguese Service, &c.
Comprising his Adventures in HOLLAND, FRANCE, BELGIUM, GERMANY, ITALY, SPAIN, and PORTUGAL. 2 Vols. 8vo.

III.

POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS OF A PEERESS;

Or, THE DAYS OF FOX.

Edited by the LADY CHARLOTTE BURY. 3 Vols. Post 8vo.

IV.

HUMAN NATURE;

By the Author of "Tremaine and "De Vere." 3 Vols.

V.

AN EXPLORATORY VOYAGE

ALONG the WEST COAST of AFRICA, and the NARRATIVE of a CAMPAIGN in KAFFERLAND in 1835.

By Capt. J. E. ALEXANDER, 42nd Royal Highlanders.

Author of "Travels in the East," &c.

Illustrated with Plates and Maps, by Major C. C. MITCHELL, Surveyor General and Civil Engineer, Cape of Good Hope. In 2 Vols. 8vo.

New Books, Just Published.

FLITTINGS OF FANCY;

By ROBERT SULIVAN, Esq. Author of "The Silent River," "Faithful and Forsaken," &c. 2 Vols. Post 8vo.

CHATEAUBRIAND'S SKETCHES OF ENGLISH LITERATURE;

With CONSIDERATIONS on the SPIRIT of the TIMES, MEN, and REVOLUTIONS. 2 Vols. 8vo. 24s.

EDITED BY THEODORE HOOK, ESQ.,
 And illustrated with a Portrait of the LADY CHARLOTTE BURY.
 THE FIRST NUMBER FOR 1837 OF
COLBURN'S
NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE,
 EDITED BY THEODORE HOOK, Esq.
 WHO COMMENCES THE NUMBER FOR JANUARY WITH
THE GURNEY PAPERS.

Those persons who intend to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity of the new year for commencing this Periodical, are requested to send their orders immediately to their respective Booksellers.

Among numerous other distinguished Contributors to this Popular Miscellany, besides the Editor, Mr. Colburn has the pleasure to name—

AUTHOR OF "TREMAINE."
 AUTHORS OF "REJECTED ADDRESSES."
 ALFRED CROWQUILL.
 HAYNES BAYLY, Esq.
 S. BEAZLEY, Esq.
 LAMAN BLANCHARD, Esq.
 J. B. BUCKSTONE, Esq.
 THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq.
 CROFTON CROKER, Esq.
 B. D'ISRAELI, Esq.
 EBENEZER ELLIOTT.
 REV. G. R. GLEIG.
 MRS. GORE.
 MRS. S. C. HALL.
 BENSON HILL, Esq.

LEIGH HUNT, Esq.
 DOUGLAS JERROLD, Esq.
 MISS L. E. LONDON.
 MISS MITFORD.
 SIR CHARLES MORGAN.
 LADY MORGAN.
 THE HON. MRS. NORTON.
 R. B. PEAKE, Esq.
 J. R. PLANCHE, Esq.
 JOHN POOLE, Esq. (AUTHOR OF "PAUL
 PRY.")
 HAMILTON REYNOLDS, Esq.
 LEITCH RITCHIE, Esq.
 AUTHOR OF "GLANCES AT LIFE."
 N. P. WILLIS, Esq.

The New Publication announced under the title of

THE HUMORIST

is, at the suggestion of Mr. Hook, incorporated with the NEW MONTHLY, and forms a prominent feature of Wit and Comicality in that Magazine, which is accordingly increased in quantity, and contains various other improvements.

THE NEW SERIES OF LITERARY PORTRAITS (lately commenced) continues to form a distinguishing Embellishment of this Periodical.

CONTENTS OF THE JANUARY NUMBER.

The Gurney Papers. No I. By Theodore Hook, Esq.
 Retrospections, & Anticipations for 1837.
 The Late George Colman. His Wit and Genius.
 The Mother's Heart. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton.
 A Tale of the Voyage of Hendrick Hudson. By N. P. Willis, Esq.
 Subjects for Pictures. By L. E. L.
 Recreations in Natural History, No. I.
 Memoir of the Lady Charlotte Bury (with a Portrait.)
 Notes on Literature, the Arts, etc.
 State of Agriculture and Commerce.

THE HUMORIST:—
 The Manager's Room at Little Pedlington. By John Poole, Esq.
 Achates Digby. By Alfred Crowquill.
 The Grand Kentucky Balloon. By One of the Authors of "The Rejected Addresses."
 The Disasters of Carlington Blundell, Esq. By Leigh Hunt, Esq.
 Songs of the Blacks. By J. B. Buckstone, Esq. 1. The New Jim Crow.
 2. A Nigger's Reasons.
 Moralities for Families. By Douglas Jerrold, Esq.
 Club Law—Christmas, etc.


HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

NO. 13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET, LONDON;

And to be had of all Booksellers in the kingdom.

AGENTS: FOR IRELAND, MR. J. CUMMING, DUBLIN; FOR SCOTLAND, MESSRS. BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH.

Date Due

DEC 21 '71			
MAY 31 '72			
DEC 18 '72			
JAN 5 '53			
MAY 24 '53			
MAY 2 '53			
MAR 16 '53			
MAY 19 '53			
MAY 19 1960			
MAY 22 '87			
			

DT53.S42 v.2

AUTHOR	
Scott	
TITLE	
Rambles in Egypt and Candia v.2	
DATE DUE	BORROWER'S NAME
DEC 21 '51	G. Meyer
DEC 31 '51	_____
DEC 18 '52	K. Shover
JAN 5 '53	H. Kibby
JAN 24 '53	H. Kibby
MAY 28 '53	_____
MAR 16 '53	Scott
MAY 19 '53	Rambles in Egypt and Candia
MAY	v.2

DT
53.
S42
v.2

